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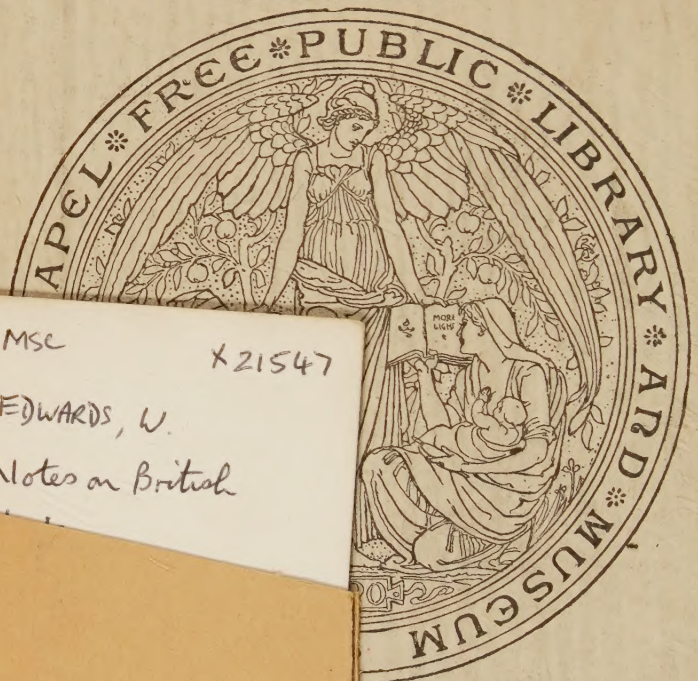

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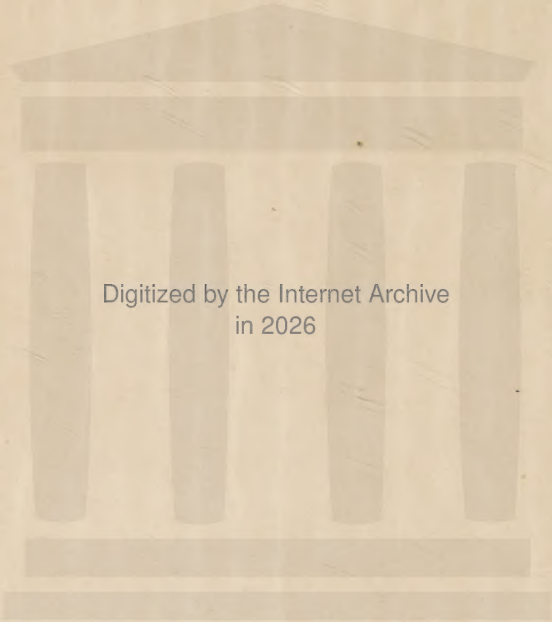

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PART V

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ON

BRITISH HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL
AUTHOR OF "NOTES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE"

PART V

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PREFACE

THIS volume deals with problems of contemporary interest, and has been written with two main objects.

The author hopes that it will prove useful in the upper forms of schools, and that it may give to those who will soon become active citizens of the British Empire some idea of the origin of the political questions with which they will be called upon to deal.

He also hopes that it will be of interest and value to the general reader. Everybody reads the newspapers to-day; few have time to refer the news of the day to the general principles involved, to trace the problems of domestic and foreign history to their original causes, or to study their growth and development. The author is gratified to learn that previous volumes have served such purposes, and he trusts that Volume V, owing to its immediate interest, will prove still more helpful.

To get the correct perspective of historical problems that are still unsettled is no easy matter; personal feelings are apt to warp our judgment. But the issues involved are generally of such vital importance that it is the duty of every one to form his own conclusions, and the author has tried to lighten

the reader's task by stating the facts as clearly and impartially as he can. References are given at the end of each note to books which afford further information about the subjects under consideration, and where differences of opinion exist the references include books giving different, and sometimes contradictory, views.

The author would welcome any suggestion for the correction and improvement of this book.

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NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY

PART V

QUEEN VICTORIA

I. Family History.

Born at Kensington Palace, May 24th, **1819**; the daughter of Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent (died **1820**), a son of George III, and Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and widow of Ernest Charles, Prince of Leiningen. Succeeded to the throne on the death of her uncle William IV, June 20th, **1837**. Married at St. James's Palace on February 10th, **1840**, her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. Birth of the Princess Royal (afterwards German Empress), November 21st, **1840**, and of the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII), November 9th, **1841**. Death of the Prince Consort, December 14th, **1861**. Marriage of the Princess Royal to Frederick, Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick), January 25th, **1858**, and of the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein (afterwards King of Denmark), March 10th, **1863**. Death of the Duke of Clarence, eldest son of the Prince of Wales, January 14th, **1892**. Queen Victoria died at Osborne, January 22nd, **1901**.

II. A Constitutional Monarch.

"Although she resolutely opposed any attempt to lessen the power or prestige of the monarchy in Great Britain, she was the first occupant of the throne who could be called a genuinely constitutional monarch."[1]

[1] *Political History of England*, Low and Sandars, page 453.

A. Her active interest in domestic politics.

Queen Victoria took a keen personal interest in affairs, and her great experience of politics lent much weight to her opinions. Her point of view was Whig. She believed in the liberty of the subject and religious toleration ; she held that class distinctions must be maintained, and " deprecated change in the great institutions of government, especially in the army."[1] She was attached to the Established Church and favoured the Evangelical party ; she was strongly opposed to Ritualism in the Church and Radicalism in the State.

She signed all important documents with her own hand, and in **1895** resumed the practice of signing commissions in the army which she had discontinued in **1862.** During the Egyptian War in **1882** she wrote seventeen Notes in one day to the Secretary for War. Even during her withdrawal from public life few of her subjects worked as hard as the Queen.

(1) She required her ministers to give her full particulars of the measures they brought forward.

> " I am determined that no one person, may he be ever so good, ever so devoted among my servants, is to lead or guide or dictate to me."[2]

She sharply rebuked Palmerston, **1850,** for failing to advise her of his intentions,[3] and informed Gladstone in **1880** that she claimed the right " of commenting on all proposals before they are matured."

(2) Her opinions on some important questions.

(*a*) **1845.** She strongly, " almost recklessly," supported Peel in his attempt to repeal the Corn Laws.

(*b*) **1866.** She resented Earl Russell's introduction of a Reform Bill at a time when the Seven Weeks' War was being waged between Austria and Prussia, and when she thought there was little demand for such a measure in England.

(*c*) **1868.** She disliked the Disestablishment of the Irish Church because " injustice to Protestants might come of it."

[1] Lee, *Queen Victoria,* page 395.
[2] *Letters of Queen Victoria,* III, 476.
[3] See *Notes on British History,* IV, 867.

(*d*) **1881.** She condemned the terms of peace made with the Boers in **1881.**

(*e*) **1882.** She protested against the lenient treatment of the leaders of the Egyptian rising and against the delay in sending assistance to General Gordon in **1884.**

(*f*) **1886.** She strongly opposed Home Rule, which she regarded as a betrayal of the Ulster loyalists.

B. Her loyalty to her Ministers.

(1) Queen Victoria's personal relations with her Prime Ministers varied greatly. Melbourne's fatherly kindness gained her affection. Although the fact that he replaced Melbourne rather prejudiced Peel, he soon won the Queen's friendship. She distrusted and disliked Palmerston, who disagreed with the Prince Consort on every subject; the latter described Palmerston as "the man who embittered our whole life." She did not approve of Earl Russell's foreign policy, and regarded his resignation in **1866** as desertion. She had no sympathy with Gladstone, whose intellectual energy and flow of language overpowered her. She was most unwilling to make him Prime Minister in **1880,** and accepted his final resignation in **1894** with marked coolness. She described Beaconsfield as "my dear, valued, and devoted friend and counsellor whose loss is so great to the country and to me."

(2) When the Queen saw that a Minister's policy, however distasteful to herself, was supported by the majority of the people, she gave him her loyal support. The Queen's direct influence twice composed serious difficulties between the Lords and Commons, and secured the passage of the Bill for Disestablishing the Irish Church, **1869,** and the Reform Bill, **1885.** At Gladstone's wish she abolished by royal warrant the sale of commissions in the Army, which the Lords refused to abolish by legislation.

III. The Position of the Monarchy under Queen Victoria.

A. Early popularity.

The Queen's youth, the contrast between her character and those of William IV and George IV, strengthened the position of the monarchy in the early years of her reign.

B. Waning popularity.

From **1840** (the year of the Queen's marriage) to about **1872** the prestige of the Crown and the personal popularity of the Queen declined, although England was not affected by the Revolutionary movement of **1848.**

(1) Prince Albert (who received the title of Prince Consort in **1857**) was at first very unpopular owing to his formal manners, his lack of interest in sport, his strong sympathy with Germany. But before he died his purity of character and his intelligent interest in science and commerce gained for him general respect.

The strong sympathy for Germany, and especially Prussia, which the Queen and Prince Consort showed aroused considerable discontent,[1] and a feeling arose that the interests of England were somewhat prejudiced. Much dissatisfaction was expressed at the marriage of Princess Helena to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein in **1866.**

(2) The Queen's seclusion after the Prince Consort's death, December 14th, **1861.**

The Queen was prostrated with grief at her husband's death and for some time withdrew herself from public life, although faithfully discharging her heavy routine duties, which she found "totally overwhelming."

(*a*) [She had ceased to prorogue Parliament in person in **1854** and] she did not open Parliament in person till February 10th, **1866,** and then with little ceremony. She opened Parliament only seven times in the last thirty-nine years of her reign.

(*b*) She attended, but took no active part in, the marriage of the Prince of Wales, **1863.** She did not make a public appearance in London until March 30th, **1864.**

(*c*) The only public ceremony she attended in **1870** was the opening of London University.

(*d*) She did not hold a Drawing Room at Buckingham Palace until March 10th, **1868.**

Her Ministers protested, and *The Times* gave expression to the strong popular discontent and reminded the Queen, December 14th, **1864,** that "the living have their claims as well as the dead."

[1] See below, IV, A.

(3) The Queen's wealth.

The cost of maintaining the Court was diminished owing to the Queen's seclusion, and she was suspected of adding to her private fortune, estimated at £5,000,000, the unspent balance of her official annuity. The statement, which was inaccurate, that she did not pay income tax, increased popular resentment, which found malignant expression, in **1871,** in a tract entitled " What does she do with it? ", and led Sir Charles Dilke, an avowed Republican, to move in the Commons on March 19th, **1872,** for a full inquiry into the Queen's expenditure. But only four members supported the motion in a House of 278.

The belief that the Queen was rich enough to provide for her own family partly accounts for the opposition in Parliament to the proposal to increase the annuities of Prince Leopold, **1882,** and Princess Beatrice, **1885,** on their marriages, and to the proposed grants to the Prince of Wales' children, **1889.**

(4) The establishment of the Republic in France, September, **1870,** stimulated criticism of the monarchy in England. The number of avowed Republicans in England was small, but many began to doubt whether the cost of the monarchy was not excessive.

(5) Some resentment was caused by the Queen's refusal to spend much time in London, which she disliked. She spent ten days there at her Jubilee in **1887,** but since **1861** had rarely stayed more than two nights. She visited Ireland only four times, but showed plainly her preference for Scotland and refused to cancel her holiday at Balmoral when the Indian Mutiny made her presence in London desirable.

C. The end of the reign.

(1) The general sympathy shown for the Queen during her severe illness in **1871** and during the Prince of Wales' very dangerous attack of typhoid fever in the same year led to better public feeling. This was strengthened by the marked interest she showed in the troops who fought in Ashantee, **1874,** Egypt, **1882,** and by the sympathy aroused by the deaths of the Duke of Clarence, the elder son of the Prince of Wales, January 14th, **1892,** and Prince Henry of Battenberg, husband of Princess Beatrice,

1896. It was known that the Queen's death was hastened by her deep distress at the loss of so many lives in the Boer War.

(2) In her later years her more frequent attendance at public functions and her long reign and venerable age gained for her respect and affection, and led to outbursts of passionate loyalty at the Jubilee of **1887** and the Diamond Jubilee of **1897**.

(3) The development of the spirit of Imperialism, and particularly the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India in **1876**, gave added dignity to the Crown, which now became the symbol of imperial unity and the bond of connection between the Colonies and Great Britain.

IV. The Queen and Foreign Politics.

The marriages of her children, grandchildren and relatives brought the Queen into personal touch with most of the reigning houses of Europe. Four of her daughters married German princes —the Princess Royal, Frederick Prince of Prussia, **1858**, afterwards the Emperor Frederick; Princess Alice, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, **1862**; Princess Helena, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, **1866**; Princess Beatrice, Prince Henry of Battenberg, **1885**. Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, became Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha on the death of the Prince Consort's elder brother Ernest in **1893**. Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, married in **1879** a daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia.

Of the Queen's grandchildren, Princess Sophia Dorothea married in **1889** the Duke of Sparta, afterwards King Constantine of Greece[1]; Princess Alix of Hesse married Nicholas II, Czar of Russia, **1894**; Princess Marie of Edinburgh married in **1893** the Crown Prince, afterwards King, of Roumania; Princess Maud of Wales married in **1896** Prince Charles, afterwards King of Norway. There was some justification for the statement that the Queen was "the grandmother of Europe."

Queen Victoria's mother had been a Princess of Saxe-Coburg; her uncle and cousin were Kings of Hanover; her half-brother Prince of Leiningen; her uncle, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, became King of the Belgians in **1830**; her first cousin, Prince

[1] Tino.

Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, married in **1836** Queen Maria II of Portugal.

A. Prussia.

(1) Largely owing to the marriage of the Princess Royal the Queen regarded the promotion of Prussian interests as " a sacred duty."

(*a*) **1863.** When the policy of Austria, which was trying to secure the leadership of the German confederacy, seemed likely to injure Prussia, she tried to avert the danger by a personal interview with the Emperor of Austria.

(*b*) **1864.** She supported the claims of Prussia to Schleswig-Holstein and compelled Earl Russell to remove from the Queen's Speech sentences which seemed to commit Great Britain to help the Danes.

(*c*) **1870.** She sympathised with Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War, but her appeal to the Crown Prince and Princess to avert the bombardment of Paris failed.

(*d*) Bismarck, who was on very bad terms with the Crown Prince and Princess, strongly objected to the influence Queen Victoria exercised in the Prussian Court, and bitterly complained of the " petticoat sentimentality " which caused her appeals to the Crown Prince and Princess to avert the bombardment of Paris. He maintained that her influence over the Crown Prince was due to the financial aid she gave him, and asserted, wrongly, that she urged Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg to weaken the power of Prussia.

B. France.

(1) Her friendly relations with Louis Philippe were broken by his refusal to agree to the proposed marriage of Prince Albert's cousin, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to Queen Isabella of Spain.

(2) She profoundly distrusted Napoleon III; her strong protests deterred him from attacking Germany in **1863,** and thwarted his schemes to make Luxemburg dependent on Holland or Belgium in **1867.** She blamed him for abandoning the cause of the Archduke Maximilian, the husband of her first cousin, Princess Charlotte of Belgium, who, largely owing to Napoleon's action,

failed to establish an Empire in Mexico and was shot in the city, by order of court-martial, June 20th, **1867.**

(3) But when Louis Philippe (**1848**) and Napoleon III (**1871**) fled from France both found refuge in England, and Queen Victoria treated them with great kindness.

C. Russia.

1863. She strongly opposed intervention on behalf of the Poles, who were persecuted by Russia.

D. Greece.

1862. She was very anxious that Prince Alfred should accept the throne of Greece, but acquiesced in her Ministers' refusal to agree to it.

E. General.

(1) Her sympathies were generally with ruling houses and led her into serious difficulties with some of her ministers, especially Palmerston and Russell, who looked, she thought, with too favourable an eye on revolution.

(2) But she was careful to prevent her sympathy from hurrying her into precipitate action. She maintained strict neutrality in the Danish War of **1864,** the "Seven Weeks' War" between Austria and Prussia, **1866,** and the Franco-Prussian Wars. Her foreign policy was always patriotic, but not always popular. Lord Salisbury justly praised her "passionate patriotism."

(3) She nobly used her remarkable influence in Europe to maintain peace and to save the vanquished from destruction. The conciliatory message drafted by the Prince Consort and accepted by the Queen averted almost certain war between England and the United States in 1861.[1]

In addition to the examples quoted above (A, B), she

1866. Attempted, unsuccessfully, to mediate between Austria and Prussia.

1871. Did much to mitigate the harsh terms Bismarck wished to impose upon France.

1875. By a direct appeal to the German Emperor prevented a further war between Prussia and France.

[1] *Notes on British History*, II, page 859.

V. **Personal.**

A. By her high personal character, her unswerving truthfulness, and the purity and simplicity of her family life, Queen Victoria set an excellent example to her subjects.

B. She was a woman of wide sympathy, which was shown most conspicuously in her letter of July, **1856**, to Florence Nightingale : " I need hardly repeat to you how warm my admiration is for your services, which are fully equal to those of my dear and brave soldiers, whose sufferings you have had the *privilege* of alleviating in so merciful a manner."

C. Her innate truthfulness, which made it difficult for her to conceal dislike, and a hasty temper, which made her somewhat intolerant of opposition, partly account for her difficulties with some of her ministers.

D. Although she dressed simply and her stature was short, she bore herself at all times with singular grace and royal dignity.

E. In public affairs she often displayed great sagacity and wisdom, but she was not greatly interested in literature. Her favourite authors were Tennyson, George Eliot, Dickens, and George Macdonald. She was a good musician, and in her early life sometimes sang at Court concerts. She was fond of sketching, but has been criticised for the undue partiality she showed for German artists.

Reference :

Life of Queen Victoria, Lee.

FOREIGN POLITICS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

I. **Germany, France, and England.**

A. Germany.

After the Franco-Prussian War, German policy gradually became militant and aggressive. The Pan-German party advocated the association of all German and kindred European nations in a union which should extend from Ostend to Revel,

from Amsterdam to Trieste, and assume a commanding position on the Continent. Nietzsche preached the superiority of the German type, "the blond beast," and the consequent duty of making Germany the mistress of the world. The Emperor William II, in **1896,** declared that Germany must adopt a world policy, and the new movement received the enthusiastic support of the Junkers (the Prussian aristocracy), and the Army; the Colonial League urged the necessity of extending German colonies as a means partly of promoting commerce, partly of preventing the loss of German citizens that followed emigration to America; the Navy League, of which Admiral Tirpitz was the leader, advocated the increase of the Navy as a necessary condition of colonial development and world empire; professors, schoolmasters and preachers were ordered to teach the new doctrines, education became a training for war and the people gradually, in spite of the opposition of the growing Socialist party, thought as they were ordered.

Germany had made great industrial progress. Manufactures became more important than agriculture, and the vast wealth derived from commerce provided the means of financing schemes of aggression.

(1) The Kaiser and Islam.

> "The attempt to dominate the East forms the keystone of German Weltpolitik."[1]

The Kaiser wished to extend the influence of Germany in the Far East, and this necessitated friendly relations with Mahommedans in general, among whom the Pan Islam movement was making progress, and with Turkey, which commanded the overland route to Persia.

1898. The Kaiser paid a friendly visit to the Sultan Abdul Hamid, the author of the Armenian massacres, and at Damascus assured the Mahommedans that "the German Emperor will be their friend at all times." The Turks returned the compliment by calling him Kaiser Hadji Mahommed Gulliamo and traced his descent from Mahommed.

[1] Prothero.

1902. The Sultan gave concessions for the construction of the Bagdad Railway.

(*a*) The refusal of the Emir of Koweit, a firm ally of Great Britain, to grant a terminus in his country, prevented the railway from reaching the Persian Gulf.

(*b*) **1905.** Construction of a branch through Palestine towards Mecca, nominally for the convenience of pilgrims, really to facilitate a future offensive against the Suez Canal.

(*c*) **1911.** The right to construct a branch line to Alexandretta, with special privileges for German traders in that part, threatened seriously to impair the influence of France and England in Syria and Mesopotamia. If the Kaiser's scheme for the construction of a Berlin–Bagdad–Basra Railway had materialised, it "would have turned the flank" of the British Empire.

(2) Naval Developments.

1895. The completion of the Kiel Canal provided a German waterway between the Baltic and the North Sea. In 1914 the Canal was enlarged to allow the passage of Dreadnoughts.

1898–1919. A succession of Navy Bills (due largely to Tirpitz) led to a great increase in the Navy. In **1908–9** Germany built four Dreadnoughts, and Great Britain two; the Germans estimated for **1917** a naval expenditure of £16,492,000, an increase of 50 per cent on the figures for **1905.** The Kaiser declared: "I will never rest until I have raised my Navy to a position similar to that occupied by my Army. German colonial aims can be gained only when Germany has become master on the ocean."

1907. The Germans refused to agree to proposals for the reduction of armaments made at the Hague Conference.

1911. Failure of the Germans to secure predominance in Morocco, which would have given them command of the Mediterranean and South Atlantic trade routes.

(3) German influence in other Courts.

The Kaiser's sister was the wife of King Constantine of Greece; Ferdinand, King of Bulgaria, was a Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha;

the Prince Consort of Holland was a German; the King of Roumania a Hohenzollern.

(4) German aggression a danger to Europe.

The development of the Navy was a direct challenge to Great Britain, which, as the greatest world Power, would have been most severely affected if the German world policy had been successful. The authority of Great Britain over her Mahommedan subjects and her position in Egypt were threatened by the relations of the Kaiser with Islam. Treitschke urged on the Germans the need of destroying the British Empire, which was the chief obstacle to the German policy; the hatred and jealousy of England found strong expression at the time of the Boer War, and the children were taught "England ist der Feind."

Russia, the champion of the Slavs, viewed with alarm the growth of German influence in the Balkans and Turkey.

France, Holland, and Belgium were threatened by the Pan-German movement, and France feared that her influence would be weakened in the East and over her Mahommedan subjects.

B. Great Britain.

In 1900 Great Britain was in a position of dangerous isolation. Her prestige had been lowered by the Boer War, for which she was condemned by the opinion of Europe. Kruger had had a friendly reception in many of the countries of Western Europe. It is possible that Germany would have supported the Boers if her navy had been strong enough, and it is highly probable that France, Germany, and Russia considered the advisability of diplomatic intervention on their behalf.

France resented our occupation of Egypt, and her national pride was humiliated by the surrender at Fashoda.[1] The claims of the French to fishing rights off Newfoundland had led to a long standing dispute between the two countries. Great Britain opposed French attempts to secure domination in Morocco and Siam.

Russia was regarded as a standing menace to India.

British statesmen, in spite of the bitter feeling expressed

[1] Notes, iv, page 938.

against Great Britain in the German Press, showed a friendly spirit towards Germany. They made a conciliatory arrangement with Germany about Africa in **1898,** and in **1900** joined the Germans in operations against the Boxers[1] and recognised the German Protectorate in Samoa.

C. France.

France longed for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, and "la revanche" made cordial co-operation between her and Germany impossible. The keystone of her policy was the Dual Alliance with Russia (**1891**), which gave to France a powerful ally on the Eastern frontiers of Germany and secured for Russia the valuable financial aid of France.

Delcassé, a strong man determined to maintain his country's interests against Germany, became Foreign Minister in **1898.**

But France was seriously weakened by labour disputes, by the strong opposition aroused by the anti-Clerical policy of Combes, **1902,** and by the anti-militarist movement provoked by the reversal, in **1906,** of the unjust sentence for treachery which had been passed in **1895** on Capt. Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the army.

II. **The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.**

A. The Triple Alliance.

(1) **1882.** Formation for five years of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. The last joined because of resentment at the French conquest of Tunis, **1881,** and possibly through fear of war with France. Her action was strongly resented by the Irredentists, who wished to "redeem" Trieste, the Tyrol, and other Adriatic provinces from Austria, and by the Clericals, who looked to Austria to protect the Papacy from the Italian Government. These causes, and her traditional friendship for Great Britain, weakened the enthusiasm of Italy for the Alliance.

(2) **1887.** On the expiration of the Triple Alliance the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria was formed by Bismarck. It pledged each of the parties to help the other if attacked by Russia.

[1] *Ibid.*, page 980.

(3) The Triple Alliance was renewed in **1891, 1903, 1907, 1912.** Both these Alliances were professedly defensive.

B. The Dual Entente.

(1) The policy of Germany seemed dangerous to both France and Great Britain. The latter was concerned about the naval development of Germany; the preoccupation of Russia left France in an exposed position on the western flank of Germany.

France was the ally of Russia, and the Russo-Japanese War might have led to difficulties between France and England. Statesmen saw the urgent need of a better understanding between the two countries.

May, **1903.** Visit to Paris of King Edward VII, whose personal charm captivated the Parisians and caused a much better feeling towards Great Britain.

In July the President, M. Loubet, and Delcassé visited England and were cordially received.

(2) October, **1903,** the French and British Governments agreed to refer all disputes to the Hague tribunal for arbitration.

(3) April 8th, **1904.** *L'entente cordiale.*

France recognised British supremacy in Egypt and gave up most of her fishing rights in Newfoundland. Great Britain recognised the paramount claim of France to influence in Morocco and ceded territory on the River Gambia.

The *entente cordiale,* "the most important event of modern diplomacy," was a great triumph for the Foreign Secretaries, Lord Lansdowne and Delcassé. It removed the probability of war between the two countries, and the friendship of France helped greatly to settle the difficulties arising from the Dogger Bank incident of October 19th, **1904.**[1] It was a reversal of the policy of isolation which had long been a tradition of the British Foreign Office, and Lord Lansdowne deliberately refused "to treat foreign problems as isolated affairs." It paved the way for a better understanding between Great Britain and Russia (the ally of France), and between France and Italy (the old friend of

[1] Page 1073.

Britain). But it was defensive, and was never intended as an offensive alliance against Germany, and Von Bülow said in the Reichstag: "From the point of view of German interests we have no objection to make to it."

C. The position of Russia, **1905.**

"The Russo-Japanese War[1] inaugurated a new era in European history." Her losses of men, ships, territory, and prestige crippled Russia and greatly weakened the Dual Alliance between France and Russia. The Triple Alliance therefore adopted an offensive policy, and the new conditions were made quite clear in the Moroccan difficulty of **1905.**

D. Morocco, **1905.**

(1) France was specially interested in Morocco, partly owing to extensive trade connections and partly because her colony of Algeria was often raided by Moorish tribes. The predominant interest of France had been recognised by Great Britain, Italy, and Spain. Germany's trade with Morocco was small and she had disclaimed any political interest in the country.

(2) March, **1905.** Following the Russian defeat at Mukden, the Kaiser visited Tangier and asserted that he could not allow any Power [i.e. France] to intervene between him and the Sultan of Morocco. His objects were to secure a footing in a country of great importance, as commanding the trade routes of the Mediterranean and South Atlantic, and to cause friction between Great Britain and France. The question was referred to a Conference, contrary to the wishes of Delcassé, who therefore resigned in June, and settled by the Act of Algeciras, April, **1906,** which practically recognised the French claims.

(3) The Moroccan question showed the solidarity of the *entente cordiale*, for Great Britain strongly supported France, and the weakness of the Triple Alliance, for Italy took the same side as Great Britain. It revealed the aggressive designs of Germany, which was supported by Austria alone.

[1] Page 1071.

E. The Triple Entente, **1907.**

In **1904** the Kaiser had tried, in the "Willy Nicky" correspondence, to stir up discord between Russia and Great Britain, the ally of France. He assured the Czar Nicholas that "the naval battles fought by Togo are fought with Cardiff coal." A secret treaty guaranteeing mutual assistance was made between the two monarchs at Björko in July, **1905,** but the Czar's ministers compelled him to annul the treaty.

The results of the Russo-Japanese War so weakened Russia that a Russian advance on India, long the bugbear of British foreign policy, became very unlikely. Both Russia and Great Britain were concerned about the growth of German armaments and of German influence in Mahommedan countries; both were on friendly terms with France.

August 10th, **1907,** an agreement was made which settled amicably all questions arising as to British and Russian interests in Persia and on the frontiers of India, and thus the Triple Entente came into existence as a means of defence, if necessary, against the Triple Alliance. Thus "on the one hand we became involved in the quarrels and ambitions of our friends; and on the other we secured that if Germany attacked us we should not have to fight alone."[1]

F. Italy and the Triple Alliance.

(1) In **1900** and **1902** Conventions were made between France and Italy which gave the former a free hand in Morocco, and the latter security from French interference in Tripoli.

(2) The divergency of interests between Italy and Germany and Austria was illustrated by the strong opposition offered by Italy in **1908** to the seizure by the Austrians of Bosnia and Herzegovina,[2] which prejudiced the claims of Italy to territory east of the Adriatic; and in September, **1911,** by the successful war waged against Turkey by Italy to maintain her ascendancy in Tripoli.

Tripoli was ceded to Italy by Turkey October 17th, **1912.** Both

[1] G. P. Gooch, "Europe Before the War," in *History*, April, 1921.
[2] Page 1103.

of these events nearly led to the secession of Italy from the Triple Alliance.

G. The Second Moroccan Crisis, **1911.**

July 1st, **1911.** The Kaiser, although in **1909** he had repudiated any political interest in Morocco, fearing that operations by French and Spanish troops portended the division of that country between the two Powers, despatched a German war vessel, the *Panther*, to Agadir. His action was most popular in Berlin, was warmly approved by the German Press, and led to a strong protest by Great Britain.

A financial crisis in Berlin and the war between Turkey, the friend of Germany, and Italy, an ally of Germany, led the Kaiser to modify his claims. November 4th, **1911,** with the friendly help of Great Britain, a settlement was made by which the Germans recognised French political supremacy in Morocco and France gave Germany compensation on the Congo.

The settlement provoked a violent outburst against Great Britain in Berlin, where it was regarded as a serious check for German diplomacy, and the *Post* called the Kaiser "ce poltron miserable."

[**1913.** Extension of compulsory military service in Belgium, where it was thought that their colony on the Congo was threatened by the growth of German influence.]

References:

The Development of European Nations, Rose, chap. xxi. (Constable.)

Europe and Beyond, Marriot, chap. x. (Methuen.)

LORD SALISBURY

Born at Hatfield, **1830**; educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow of All Souls, **1853.**

1853. M.P. for Stamford.

1863. Succeeded his father as third Marquis of Salisbury.

1866 and **1874.** Secretary of State for India.

1878. Foreign Secretary.
1885. Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.[1]
1886–92. Prime Minister and (from **1887**) Foreign Secretary.[2]
1895–1902. Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.[3]
August 22, **1903.** Died at Hatfield.

I. **A great Conservative.**

He held that "it is better to endure almost any political evil than to risk a breach of the historical continuity of government," and resisted the growing movement towards democracy. He opposed the Reform Bill, **1867**, which he called "a Conservative surrender"; the Abolition of Army Purchase; the University Tests Abolition Bill, **1871**; Irish Home Rule; the "new democracy" of Randolph Churchill.[4]

He "was the last political leader who stood for the old aristocratic Conservatism."

II. **Foreign Minister.**

He usually held the post of Foreign Secretary in addition to the Premiership, and, although at the Berlin Conference Bismarck declared him to be "a lath painted to look like iron," he rendered admirable service at the Foreign Office.

He determined "to perform our part with honour, to abstain from a meddling diplomacy, to uphold England's honour steadily and fearlessly."

He settled the long-standing differences between Great Britain and Russia about Afghanistan; he was specially successful in Africa, where he extended British influence by granting charters to the British South African and East African Companies; surmounted difficulties with Portugal and France; and induced Germany to recognise the British Protectorate in Zanzibar. He skilfully averted war with the United States about Venezuela, and by skilful diplomacy during the Boer War prevented European intervention. He helped to maintain the peace of Europe for seventeen years, supported the Concert of Europe, and refused to intervene on behalf of the Armenians because intervention

[1] *Notes on British History*, Vol. IV, page 957.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 959. [3] *Ibid.*, page 976. [4] *Ibid.*, page 952.

might have endangered the peace of Europe. He was not afraid to conciliate other countries by "graceful concessions"; he resigned British rights which would have hampered the construction of the Panama Canal, and ceded Heligoland to Germany. He was less successful in curbing German aggression in the Far East.[1]

III. **Personal.**

A. He was a man of deep piety and strongly supported the cause of religious education.

B. He was keenly interested in physics and chemistry, and presided at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford, **1864.**

C. He was unemotional and fundamentally intellectual. His cynicism sometimes led to "blazing indiscretions," e.g. in opposing Irish Home Rule he declared that some races, "like the Hottentots and Hindoos," were unfit for self-government. Disraeli called him "a great master of gibes, and flouts and jeers"; he did not suffer fools gladly, and to many "the terrible Marquis" proved rather overpowering.

D. He kept his Cabinets together with great success, in spite of occasional differences, but chose his colleagues from a rather narrow circle. His aloofness diminished his influence with the rank and file of his party; but his sincerity, patriotism, and skilful management of foreign affairs gained for him an unusually large measure of respect and confidence.

References:

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THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904–5.

I. **Russian Policy in the Far East.**

A leading Russian paper declared that "in the Far East there must be one master—namely, Russia"; this policy involved the conquest of Manchuria and Korea and the establishment of

[1] *Ibid.*, page 979.

Russian supremacy in China. The aim of Russia gained the sympathy of France, which secured great influence in China owing to—

(*a*) Her claim, in spite of her strongly anti-clerical policy at home, to be the protector of Roman Catholic missions in the East.

1898. (*b*) The acquisition of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan as her sphere of influence, thus threatening the intercourse of India and Burmah with China; and of Germany, which—

1898. (*a*) Secured the very important province of Shantung as her sphere of influence.

(*b*) Limited the authority of Great Britain in the Yang-tse-Kiang valley.

Great Britain and the United States resented the growth of Russian power, but the former was too busily engaged in Egypt in **1898,**[1] and in South Africa, **1899–1902,**[2] to offer successful resistance.

A. Manchuria.

(1) Russia, supported by France and Germany, prevented Japan from securing the Liao-Tong peninsula, which had been ceded to her after her victory over China by the Treaty of Shimonoseki in **1895.**

(2) **1898.** Russia obtained "the usufruct of Port Arthur and Talienwan" (afterwards Dalny) on the peninsula, regarded them as Russian possessions, strongly fortified Port Arthur, and refused to allow any vessels except those of Russia and China to enter the harbour. The Trans-Siberian Railway was extended to Port Arthur, and thus secured an ice-free terminus on the Yellow Sea.

(3) **1900.** Russia seized the Custom-house at Niuchang on the Liao River.

[1] *Notes on British History*, IV, page 938. [2] *Ibid.*, page 1011.

B. Korea.

Russia being supreme in Manchuria, Japan tried to strengthen her position in Korea.

(1) Japan secured control of the railway from Chemulpo to Seoul.

(2) August 12th, **1903.** Japan offered to recognise Russia's preponderating influence in Manchuria if Russia would recognise hers in Korea. No response was made to the offer; but

(3) August 13th, **1903.** Admiral Alexieff was proclaimed Viceroy of the Far East.

(4) October, **1903.** Russians crossed the Yalu River and seized Yongampho in Korea. Russia now fortified Dalny and Port Arthur until it was equal in strength to "seven Sebastopols," hurried reinforcements into Manchuria, and strengthened the Pacific Fleet.

II. **The Alliance between Great Britain and Japan, February 12th, 1902, provided—**

A. That if one of the allies should be at war with a single Power the other should remain neutral.

B. That if the former were attacked by a second Power the latter should come to her aid.

C. The alliance to last for five years, but to be renewable.

This alliance recognised Japan for the first time as a first-class Power and, owing to the British command of the seas, rendered it impossible for France or Germany to send help to Russia. It was regarded by adverse critics as involving Great Britain unnecessarily in the danger of war, and has been resented in the United States owing to their growing rivalry with Japan in the Pacific.

III. **The War.**

February 5th, **1904.** Japan broke off diplomatic relations with Russia.

A. The bombardment of Port Arthur, February 8th, **1904,** to January 3rd, **1905.**

General Stoessel was in command, and the Pacific Fleet was in the harbour.

(1) February 8th, **1904.** Admiral Togo, who had been trained on H.M.S. *Worcester*, bombarded Port Arthur and seriously damaged the fleet.

(2) Alexieff fled from Port Arthur to Mukden, where he kept a special train in immediate readiness for further retreat.

(3) About May 5th Generals Oku and Nogi landed on the Laiotong peninsula, captured a strong position on the railway at Kinchau on May 26th, and Oku took Dalny, May 30th.

Port Arthur was now isolated, and Nogi on land and Togo on sea carried on the siege.

(4) Sorties of the Russian Fleet, in the hope that it might escape from Port Arthur for service elsewhere.

April 13th. Unsuccessful sortie. The battleship *Petropavlovst* torpedoed ; Admiral Makaroff drowned.

August 30th. Defeat, though not complete, of the Russian Fleet. Admiral Vitoft killed.

(5) June to December. As the result of desperate fighting, Nogi gradually drew nearer to Port Arthur.

December 29. Stoessel falsely telegraphed to the Czar : " We have hardly any ammunition left. I have now 10,000 men under arms. They are all ill."

January 3rd, **1905.** Surrender of Port Arthur to Nogi. The garrison included 32,000 effective men and 15,000 sick, and had vast stores of ammunition (including 29,000 tons of powder). " No more discreditable surrender has been recorded in history."[1]

B. Fighting on land.

(1) Battle of Liao Yang, August 30th to September 4th.

Kuropatkin made his headquarters at Liao Yang. Three Japanese armies, under the supreme command of Marshal Oyama, advanced against him.

[1] *The Times.*

(*a*) Kuroki marched from Chemulpo, in Korea, crossed the Yalu into Manchuria, April 30, and attacked Liao Yang from the south-east.

(*b*) May 19th. Nodzu landed at Takushan, on the Gulf of Korea, and marched due north.

(*c*) Oku, leaving Nogi to besiege Port Arthur, advanced along the Port Arthur–Mukden railway from the south-west.

Largely owing to Togo's bombardment of February 8th the Russian Fleet allowed the Japanese forces to land unmolested.

August 30th–September 4th. Kuroki turned the Russian left flank, Nodzu broke the centre, Oku drove in their right.

September 4th. Oyama took Liao Yang, and Kuropatkin, having lost 20,000 men in this battle, retreated north to Mukden pursued by the Japanese.

(2) The battle of the Shaho, October 10th–18th.

Kuropatkin unsuccessfully tried to stop the advance of the Japanese, who again routed the Russians and brought their line up to the Shaho River, only eleven miles from Mukden.

(3) The battle of Mukden, March 1st–10th, **1905.**

Kuropatkin held strongly entrenched positions on the north bank of the Shaho with an army of 403,000 men and 1504 guns. Oyama, reinforced by Nogi's army from Port Arthur, passed the line of the Shaho and, by a most skilful enveloping movement, took Mukden, March 10th. Over three-quarters of a million of men took part in this battle, in which the Japanese heavy artillery proved most effective. The Russian casualties were 90,000, and they lost 40,000 prisoners and a vast amount of artillery.

By the end of March the Japanese had advanced one hundred miles north of Mukden and had achieved their object of driving the Russians out of Korea and Manchuria.

C. The Baltic Fleet.

The Baltic Fleet, under Admiral Roshdestvensky, was sent to relieve Port Arthur. On the night of October 21st, thinking they saw Japanese torpedo-boats, they bombarded for twenty minutes the Dogger Bank fishing fleet, killing two men. [Swedish, Nor-

wegian, and German ships were also bombarded the same night.] For this the Emperor expressed regret, and heavy compensation was paid. The Baltic Fleet arrived in the Far East and was destroyed by Togo in the battle of Tsushima, May 27–28, **1905.**

D. The Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5th, **1905.**

Russia gave Japan the southern part of Saghalien and the Port Arthur peninsula, evacuated Manchuria, and acknowledged Japan's predominant influence in Korea.

E. General.

The Japanese victory was due to the failure of the Russian Fleet; to the excellent arrangements for transport and medical service made by the Japanese; to the masterly strategy of Oyama and his able colleagues; to the patriotic spirit and excellent discipline of the victors and the inefficiency of the Russian generals; to the effect of the treaty with Great Britain.

Their success, following their victory over China in **1895,** made the Japanese the leading power in the Far East, and by relieving them from the fear of attack gave an opportunity for commercial development of which they have taken full advantage.

The war greatly weakened the power and prestige of Russia, and thus exercised a profound influence on European politics. It was a distinct factor in the establishment of the Triple Entente[1] and in the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria.[2]

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BALFOUR'S MINISTRY

July, **1902**–December, **1905.**

On the retirement of Lord Salisbury in July, **1902,** A. J. Balfour became Prime Minister. Chamberlain, though perhaps disappointed that he did not become Prime Minister, expressed his

[1] Page 1066. [2] Page 1066.

" pride and pleasure " in serving under Balfour and continued as Colonial Secretary. Ritchie succeeded Hicks Beach as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Devonshire became Leader of the House of Lords.

The Liberal Party was weak. The conclusion of the Boer War was followed by the gradual reunion of those Liberals who had opposed and those who had supported the war; but difficulties continued between those who advocated an early settlement of the Home Rule question and those who followed Lord Rosebery in advocating that Home Rule should not be considered until England, not merely the United Kingdom, returned a favourable majority. Lord Rosebery advocated Imperialism more strongly than many Liberals thought desirable, differences arose between him and Campbell-Bannerman, and the Liberal League was formed in his support; but, although in July, **1901,** in his Chesterfield speech he urged Liberals to " wipe the slate clean," he did little to help in the cleansing and soon retired to plough a " lonely furrow." But Liberals found a bond of union in opposition to the Corn Tax and the Education Bill, which had been brought in by Lord Salisbury. The Government had been severely criticised in the report of the Committee appointed to investigate the Boer War, and their domestic policy promoted the growing union of the Liberal Party.

I. **Foreign Politics.**

A. **1902.** Anglo-Japanese Alliance[1] concluded by Lord Salisbury before his retirement.

B. **1904.** Treaty with France.[2]

C. Russia.

(1) **1904.** Admiral Roshdestvensky's fleet fired on the North Sea fishing boats. The difficulty settled without resort to arms.[3]

(2) **1904.** Partly owing to Russian aggression in Tibet, a British expedition, under Col. Younghusband, was sent to that country; it entered Lhasa August 3rd. A treaty was made which prevented

[1] Page 1071. [2] Page 1064. [3] Page 1073.

Tibet from granting further concessions to foreign countries or receiving foreign agents without the consent of Great Britain.

II. Tariff Reform.

A. The Issue.

May 15th, **1903.** Chamberlain opened a campaign for Tariff Reform by a speech in which he advocated a rearrangement of tariffs and the establishment of a common fiscal policy for the Empire. His main reason was a strong desire to bind the Colonies more closely to Great Britain, and he asserted that Tariff Reform would help to develop the resources of the Colonies, give cheaper food and more employment at home, and make England less dependent for her supplies upon foreign countries. Chamberlain received strong support from some manufacturers (although some of the "captains of industry" were among his strongest opponents), and protection for home industries and retaliation against foreign competitors were added to his programme. He determined "to make the foreigner pay."

Free Traders strongly objected to any measure of protection and asserted that it would lead to higher prices, that it would endanger our friendly relations with foreign Powers, and would cause difficulties between different parts of the Empire and between different industries at home.

B. The Unionist Split.

The Tariff Reform question led to the resignation of all Free Traders from the Government—on September 18th of Lord George Hamilton, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and Ritchie; and on October 6th of the Duke of Devonshire. Chamberlain resigned office to advocate Tariff Reform, and the Unionist Party was split into two sections. Alfred Lyttleton succeeded Chamberlain in the Colonial Office.

C. The Campaign.

(1) Chamberlain, President of the newly formed and very aggressive Tariff Reform League, toured the country, preaching

the cause of Tariff Reform in " a raging, tearing propaganda," as his brother Arthur said. On May 28th he made his famous statement : " If you are going to give a preference to the Colonies —I do not say that you are—you must put a tax on food." He suggested that a duty of two shillings per quarter should be put upon foreign, not colonial, corn and flour, but maintained that " even if the price of corn is raised, the rate of wages will certainly be raised in greater proportion." He asserted that other European manufacturing countries were beating Great Britain because protection helped them, and advocated an import duty not exceeding 10 per cent on all manufactured goods. He said that this duty would promote British manufactures, diminish unemployment, and make possible a " large scheme for the provision of [old age] pensions to all who have been thrifty and well conducted." But Henry Chaplin, the veteran Protectionist, was for two years the only leading man who supported Chamberlain.

(2) Opposition.

The opposition included Liberal and Conservative Free Traders : H. H. Asquith, Sir Wm. Harcourt, and Lord Goschen. They insisted that the new policy was " a gamble with the food of the people." Goschen asserted that in the last twenty-five years wages had increased 12 per cent and the price of food fallen 45 per cent. Lord George Hamilton pointed out that, though our imports exceeded our exports, this was due to the fact that our imports were payment not only for our exports, but also for interest on foreign investments and for the carriage of goods in British ships. The opponents of Tariff Reform were united in their opposition to taxes on food, but some, e.g. Sir M. Hicks Beach, were prepared to accept some measure of retaliation.

(3) Balfour.

Balfour failed to give a strong lead, and declared that he " had no settled conviction " on the question. He did not think that " public opinion was ripe in this country for the taxation of food," but demanded " freedom of negotiation with foreign countries." On January 26th, **1905,** he produced his policy, " on half a sheet of note-paper," at Manchester, declared that taxation should be

imposed only for revenue, and advocated closer commercial relations with the Colonies. This half-and-half declaration served no useful purpose. He refused on March 8th, **1906,** to treat a debate on Protection as a Government question.

(4) Tariff Reform failed to secure the support of the nation.

Balfour, thinking that the Liberal Party would be weakened by dissensions between Lord Rosebery, who supported Imperialism and opposed Home Rule, and Campbell-Bannerman, who was in favour of Home Rule, dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. Tariff Reform was one of the reasons for his complete defeat.

III. Irish Land Purchase Act, 1903.[1]

IV. Chinese Labour.

There was a great shortage of native labour on the Rand, and the mine owners of the Rand demanded that Chinese should be imported into South Africa to avert a financial crisis.

1904. Chinese were allowed to be imported on condition that they had passports, which were to be renewed annually, and that they were to live in compounds.

The new measure was strongly opposed by Trade Unionists, who resented the competition with white labour, and by Liberals, who denied that Chinese labour was necessary and asserted that the conditions practically amounted to slavery.

V. Arbitration Treaties, 1904.

Arbitration treaties were concluded with the United States, Germany, and Portugal.

VI. Licensing Bill, 1904.

The problem of the Regulation of Public Houses had attracted considerable attention. In **1901** the Public House Trust had been formed to provide non-alcoholic drinks in its public-houses, the dividend of which was to be limited to 5 per cent.

[1] Page 1295.

In **1902** a Licensing Bill had tried to diminish drunkenness by prohibiting publicans from serving inebriates whose names were included on the "Black List." The attempt failed, and reform seemed more probable through reduction of redundant licences. The Farnham Licensing magistrates, relying on the legal decision in the case of Sharp *v.* Wakefield, refused to renew eight licences, and their decision was upheld on appeal in six cases. Fifty-one licences were soon surrendered by brewers at Birmingham.

The Bill of **1904** provided that licences which the Quarter Sessions justices decided to be unnecessary should be extinguished, and that compensation on extinction should be paid out of a fund to be raised by the Trade.

Liberals objected to the Act because it created vested interests in licences which the law did not regard as property, and held that the number of reductions depended on the size of the compensation fund rather than on the public interest, that the arrangement would tend to make a considerable number of remaining licences perpetual, and that the compensation was too generous. They demanded a time limit for compensation and higher duties on licences.

The Government held that licencees had a reasonable expectation that licences would be continued and that they had an equitable claim to compensation for extinction; they refused to grant a time limit and carried the Bill.

VII. Aliens Bill, 1905.

Checked the immigration of undesirable aliens. Chamberlain claimed that it was a measure of protection for the British workmen against the competition of underpaid foreigners, but Balfour denied that the Bill was protective.

VIII. The Fall of the Government.

A. The Government was utterly defeated in the General Election in January and February, 1906. The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists won only 157 seats, the Liberals 397, the Irish Nationalists 83, and Labour 51.

B. The defeat was due to various causes, of which Home Rule was not one. The Government was greatly weakened by the Tariff Reform split and the weak leadership of Balfour, who was accused by *The Times* of "dilettantism in politics." Liberal posters, which compared the "big loaf" of Free Trade with the little loaf of Protection, won over many votes.

Nonconformists resented the Education Act of 1902; Chinese "slavery" in the Transvaal was used, not quite fairly, to discredit the Government; temperance reformers regarded the Licensing Act as too favourable to publicans; Trade Unionists thought the Government had been unsympathetic, and the Post Office officials were specially dissatisfied.

C. But the Government had done much good work, both in domestic and foreign politics. The Education Act was destined to raise the standard of education in the country.[1] A serious attempt had been made to strengthen national defence; our improved relations with France were to lead soon to better relations with Russia; something had been done to check drunkenness; the ties that bound Great Britain to her Colonies had been strengthened; our relations with America had improved owing to the friendly attitude we displayed towards the United States during the Cuban War.

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[1] Page 1321.

CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN'S MINISTRY

December, **1905**–April, **1908.**

In the new ministry formed after the election Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was Prime Minister, and his was the first case in which the office of Prime Minister was formally recognised.[1] H. H. Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Minister ; D. Lloyd George, President of the Board of Trade ; John Morley, Secretary for India ; John Burns, President of the Local Government Board ; H. Haldane, Secretary for War.

The Ministry was in a strong position. It had a Liberal majority of 106 over all other parties combined ; the followers of Lord Rosebery (Asquith, Grey, Haldane) gave their active support, and Lord Rosebery retired from political life ; many of the leading Unionists, including Balfour and Bonar Law, had not been elected. Wales did not return a single Conservative ; Lancashire, usually Conservative, returned a Liberal majority ; only in Birmingham, where Chamberlain's personal influence was very powerful, was Tariff Reform decidedly successful. But as Home Rule was not a question at issue many Unionist Free Traders had voted Liberal owing to their opposition to Protection ; the Liberal Party was therefore not quite as strong in the country as its Parliamentary majority suggested.

But Labour members were now sufficiently numerous to form for the first time a Labour Party, and the appointment of John Burns, the first Labour Cabinet Minister, was a recognition of the growing importance of Labour as a political force.

I. **The Dominions.**

December, **1906.** The Transvaal received a constitution.
September, **1907.** New Zealand was made a Dominion.

II. **Foreign Affairs.**

1907. Agreement with Russia—leading to the Triple Entente.

[1] *Notes on British History*, III, 574.

III. **Labour.**

(1) **1906.** Trade Disputes Act.[1].

(2) **1906.** The Workmen's Compensation Act.

(*a*) Compensation was made payable for accidents arising out of and in the course of the workman's employment, provided that they caused disablement for not less than one week and were not due to misconduct.

(*b*) Compensation was granted for "industrial" diseases, e.g. lead or phosphorus poisoning.

(*c*) The maximum payable was at death £300, for partial incapacity fifty per cent of average weekly wages.

(*d*) The Act did not apply to any whose remuneration exceeded £250 per annum.

(3) **1907.** Great railway strike.[2]

IV. **The Reorganisation of the Army, 1907.**

Haldane's new scheme diminished the number of Regular soldiers and combined the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers into a new Territorial Force designed for home defence and directed by County Associations under the authority of Lord-Lieutenants. School Cadet Corps were to be reorganised as Officers' Training Corps. The scheme thus aimed at securing men through local organisations and officers through the O.T.C. Military critics held that the regular army was unduly reduced and the number of officers and men secured did not come up to expectations. But the scheme "seemed to promise the maximum of efficiency obtainable under a purely voluntary system without an intolerable expenditure," and proved most effective as a means of recruiting during the Great War. Lord Haldane has not received the great credit he deserves for this important fact.

V. **The Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, 1907.**

Allowed a man to marry his deceased wife's sister.

[1] Page 1285. [2] Page 1289.

VI. **The Small Holdings Bill, 1907.**

Facilitated the acquisition of Small Holdings under the administration of the County Councils. In five years 10,192 small holdings covering 157,000 acres were established. But comparatively few counties took an active interest in the scheme and many applicants failed to obtain a holding. The lack of machinery for valuing the land and the high rates imposed on small holdings militated against the success of the measure.

VII. **Finance.**

The Budget of **1907** imposed a tax of ninepence on earned and one shilling on unearned incomes and imposed a supertax on estates of more than £100,000. These provisions introduced new principles of taxation as applied to income.

VIII. **The First Dreadnought, February, 1906.**

The Dreadnought was intended to inflict a maximum of injury at a maximum of distance. It carried no guns of less than twelve inches, and could steam 21 knots as compared with a previous maximum of 18½. This new departure was due to the Russo-Japanese War, which had shown the value of long-range fire at sea. But by reducing the comparative value of older warships it tended to reduce our naval superiority over Germany, who could build Dreadnoughts as fast as we could, although the superior skill of our naval constructors maintained our supremacy in design.

IX. **The House of Lords.**

The work of the Liberal Government was viewed without sympathy by the House of Lords.

A. The Education Bill, **1906.**

A new Education Bill providing for the public control of all public money spent on education and the abolition of religious tests for teachers was passed by the Commons and sent up to the Lords, who inserted a number of amendments which were intended to support denominational teaching in non-provided

schools. The Commons refused to accept these and the Bill was dropped.

B. The Trades Disputes Bill. **1906.**

The Lords passed the Bill and were criticised for, as their critics said, supporting a measure of class legislation.

C. The Plural Voting Bill.

The Plural Voting Bill asserted the principle of "one man one vote," and prohibited an elector from voting in more than one constituency. The Conservatives, who included the great majority of plural voters, demanded unsuccessfully a redistribution bill on the principle of "one vote, one value." The Bill was passed by the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords.

D. Ireland and Scotland.

In 1907 the Lord's threw out Birrell's Irish Bill and the Small Landholders' Bill (Scotland).

Campbell-Bannerman charged the Lords with "neutralising the policy which the electors have shown they approve" and carried a resolution that "a way must be found by which the will of the people, expressed through their elected representatives in this house, will be made to prevail."

References :

A Modern History of the English People, by Gretton. (Grant Richards.)

England and the British Empire, by Innes, pages 536–40. (Rivingtons.)

ASQUITH'S FIRST MINISTRY

April, 1908–December, 1909.

Campbell-Bannerman resigned on April 5th, **1908**, and died April 22nd. He was not a great statesman, but his honesty, courage, and kindliness made him an effective leader ; the grant of a constitution to the Transvaal was his greatest achievement.

His views on the House of Lords were embodied in the Parliament Act of **1911.**

Asquith, the leader of the Liberal Imperialists, became Prime Minister; Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer; R. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Crewe, Secretary for the Colonies; Winston Churchill, President of the Board of Trade.

I. **Social Legislation.**

The Social Legislation had the hearty support of Lloyd George, who deplored the necessity of spending sixty millions a year in preparing for war and asserted "we have other enemies to fight, intemperance, ignorance, crime, vice, and that most dreaded of all invasions that sooner or later enters every home. Are the dominions of death not wide enough that the nations should spend four hundred millions a year in extending them?"

A. The Old Age Pensions Act, **1908.**

Provided that pensions of 5s. a week should be granted to persons over seventy years of age, whose private income did not exceed £31 10s. a year and who had not been convicted of crime or received poor-law relief for one year. The Act came into operation on January 1st, **1909,** was estimated to cost £13,000,000 a year and to give relief to five and a half million pensioners. The Act did not provide for contributions from prospective pensioners and was adversely criticised by Unionists on this account, although they did not oppose the general principle of Old Age Pensions which had always been strongly supported by Chamberlain.

B. The Housing and Town Planning Act, **1908.**

Enabled municipal corporations to purchase land with a view to future building.

C. Labour Exchanges, **1909.**

Labour Exchanges were established to diminish unemployment by registering vacancies and acting as a means of communication between employers and employed. England was divided into ten districts, each with its own clearing-house and a joint com-

mittee of masters and men was appointed to advise the Government.

D. The Licensing Bill, 1908.

Proposed to reduce the number of licences. The proportion of Licences to vary from one for every four hundred persons to one to every thousand in proportion to the density of population per acre and compensation was to be paid for cancelled licences. After a certain time each locality to have the right of prohibiting the sale of intoxicants.

The Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords after being considered at a private meeting of Peers at Lansdowne House.

E. The Children's Act, 1908.

Punished people for allowing children to beg in the streets; compelled the provision of fireguards for children under seven; forbade alcoholic liquor to be given to children under five or tobacco to be sold to children under sixteen; made more stringent the law against baby farming; forbade people to take children into bars of public houses.

F. The Coal Mines Act, 1908.

Provided that the hours of labour in coal mines were not to exceed eight per day.

G. Establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, 1908.

Appeals allowed on the certificate of the judge of a lower court.

H. The Education Bill, 1908.

The Bill was introduced to satisfy both Nonconformists and advocates of denominational education and to settle the "religious question." Perhaps the majority of electors were not greatly concerned with this educational problem, but earnest people on both sides strongly upheld their own point of view and the Bill was withdrawn when it appeared that no settlement could be made which would satisfy both parties.

III. **The India Councils Act, 1909.**[1]

IV. **The Navy.**

In **1907** the Government had accepted the theory of a "two-power standard" for the Navy; the Dreadnoughts, by greatly diminishing the value of earlier warships, had greatly diminished the real superiority of the British over the German Fleet. The Government therefore decided to lay down four Dreadnoughts at once and four more if needed. Some Liberals protested on the ground of economy as the new programme necessitated an increase of £2,000,000 in the Naval Estimates. Conservatives demanded that eight Dreadnoughts should be commenced immediately.

V. **The People's Budget, 1909.**

A. The cost of Old Age Pensions and increased expenditure on the Navy necessitated by the growth of the German Navy, compelled Lloyd George to raise a larger revenue than preceding Chancellors of the Exchequer. In the "People's Budget" of **1909** he proposed to increase the rate of income-tax payable on large incomes, by imposing a supertax on incomes of £5000 and upwards, to raise the tax on spirits, tobacco, and public-house licences; to levy a tax of 20 per cent on the "unearned increment" in the value of land which had become more valuable not through the efforts of the landowner, but owing to the extension of neighbouring towns; to impose a tax on mineral royalties and on undeveloped land.

The taxes on unearned increment, leasehold reversions, and licences were defended on the ground that these were "socially created values," and this idea involved a new principle of taxation.

This scheme "represents the first attempt to formulate a really democratic budget; superfluous wealth has been taxed by Parliament in order to improve the lot of the poor and to bring into being social reforms, the pressing need for which has been recognised for decades by statesmen of every political creed."[2]

[1] Page 1311.

[2] Sydney Arnold, M.P.

B. The Budget was adversely criticised by the supporters of the brewers, who characterised it as "vindictive," and by landowners who protested against the application of the principle to land only and not to other forms of unearned increment. Strong objection was taken to the heavy cost of the revaluation which the new scheme necessitated, to the labour entailed in furnishing the necessary information and to the inquisitorial nature of the inquiry. Lloyd George defended the Government with great vigour in his famous Limehouse speech in July. "We are placing the burden on the broadest shoulders. . . . I made up my mind in framing this Budget that no cupboard should be barer, no lot should be harder to bear." His opponents said he was "Jack Cade redivivus" and a "demagogue from Wales." The violence of the opposition led some of the Cabinet to suggest that the land taxes should be dropped, but Lloyd George insisted that they should be retained because they were the instrument for the realisation of his plan for a wide scheme of social reform. He demanded "all the taxes or none."

C. The Opposition of the Lords.

The Lords claimed their right to reject the Budget although such an act would be contrary to constitutional usage. The Liberals saw that if they admitted the claim of the Lords, for which no precedent existed, the latter would be able to force a general election at pleasure by rejecting the Budget. Lord Ridley declared that "we now have a House of Commons controlled by a pack of madmen." Lloyd George, in another vigorous speech at Newcastle, asked "whether five hundred men, ordinary men, chosen accidently from the unemployed, shall override the judgment of millions of people who are engaged in the industry which makes the wealth of the country," and declared his intention of providing "rare and refreshing fruit for the parched lips of the multitude."

D. November 4th, **1909.** The Budget passed the Commons.

November 16th, **1909.** The Budget was rejected by the Lords by 350 votes to 75 in spite of the advice of the more cautious members.

December 2nd, **1909,** Asquith carried a resolution in the Commons denouncing the action of the Lords as "a breach of the constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons." The action of the Lords necessitated the immediate dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the country. The Liberals asked for a vote in support of the Budget, and asserted that the control exercised by the Lords over finance must be destroyed and their veto over legislation, recently used to nullify Liberal measures, must be made suspensory and not absolute.

The Unionists supported the Lords and advocated Tariff Reform as a suitable means of raising the additional revenue the country needed.

References :

A Modern History of the English People, by Gretton. (Grant, Richards.)

England and the British Empire, by Innes. (Rivingtons.)

Life of Lloyd George, by Edwards, Vol. IV, chaps. v.–vi. (Waverley Press.)

KING EDWARD VII

I. Life.

1841. Born at Buckingham Palace November 9th, **1841.** Educated by private tutors, studied a short time at Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge, but was not allowed to mix freely with others of his own age. Was not allowed to read novels and was kept under the closest supervision. Was not fond of study, but gained a thorough knowledge of French and German. Foreign travel taught him much. He visited Canada and the United States, **1860,** and the Holy Land, **1862,** but his education, though carefully thought out, was "gravely misguided."[1]

1863. Married Princess Alexandra of Schleswig-Holstein.

1864. His eldest son, Albert Victor, born June 8th, **1864,** died **1892.**

[1] *Spectator*, June 8th, 1912.

1865. Prince George (George V), born June 3rd, **1865,** married Princess Mary of Teck May 24th, **1892.** Birth of Prince Edward (the Prince of Wales) June 23rd, **1894.**

1871. Recovered from a very serious attack of typhoid.

1901. Succeeded to the throne on the death of his mother, Queen Victoria.

1910. Died May 6th, **1910.**

II. **Prince of Wales.**

A. His father, the Prince Consort, died in **1861,** but Queen Victoria gave him no share in the Government although he frequently represented her at formal ceremonies. She reluctantly allowed selected foreign despatches to be shown to him in **1865,** and as late as **1880** asserted her desire to select confidential papers for his perusal.

B. He showed considerable interest in philanthropic and social schemes ; served on the Housing Commission, **1884,** became a trustee of the British Museum, President of the Royal Agricultural Society, started the Prince of Wales Hospital Fund for London, **1897.**

C. He became the leader of fashionable society in London ; took a keen interest in horseracing and won the Derby, **1896** (Persimmon), **1900** (Diamond Jubilee), **1909** (Minoru) ; won a number of yachting trophies with the *Britannia ;* travelled widely, visited India (as the guest of the Viceroy, not as the Queen's official representative), **1874.** Was particularly fond of Paris and became " plus parisien que les parisiens."

III. **King.**

Although his inadequate education and his long exclusion from an active share in public affairs formed serious disadvantages he made an excellent king.

A. A Constitutional Monarch.

He was a strictly constitutional monarch and was thoroughly loyal to his ministers even when he disapproved of their policy.

He was not a great politician and his attitude was sometimes determined by his personal opinion of the statesman concerned. He was not at first favourably inclined towards the Territorials, but became a strong supporter of the movement, partly owing to his liking for Haldane. He intervened in two important domestic crises when he tried to reconcile the differences that had arisen in Balfour's Cabinet in **1905,** and to induce the Lords to drop their opposition to the People's Budget in **1909.** He was unsuccessful on each occasion.

B. The Peacemaker.

He was related to most of the royal houses of Europe,[1] and the marriages of his daughter Maud to Prince Charles of Denmark, who became King Haakon VII of Norway in **1905,** and of his niece, Princess Ena of Battenberg, to King Alfonso of Spain in **1906,** strengthened his position as the " Uncle of Europe." He was a great traveller and often visited or received visits from other sovereigns. Some controversy has arisen as to the influence he exerted.

(1) Some hold that he exercised a direct personal influence on European politics—a visit of the German Emperor to Sandringham was followed by joint action of Great Britain and Germany with regard to Venezuela in **1903** ; a visit of President Loubet and Delcassé was followed by the *entente cordiale* of **1904** ; the King's visit to Germany was followed by an Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and Germany. The Germans asserted that he deliberately attempted to isolate Germany, and for this purpose promoted the *entente cordiale,* visited the King of Italy in **1907** in order to induce him to break away from the Triple Alliance, and by his visit to the Czar at Revel in **1908** endeavoured to secure the support of Russia.

(2) His efforts undoubtedly led to a great improvement in our foreign relations and promoted the cause of peace. His visit to Paris in **1903** won over the French, who had strongly resented

[1] See page 1056, Vol. IV.

our conquest of the Transvaal, and created a favourable atmosphere for the *entente cordiale*. But it is most unlikely that he had a definite foreign policy which he tried to carry out. He had "no originating political faculty"; his peacemaking was confined to the exercise of his own tact and geniality; and all official acts necessitated by the development of foreign policy in his reign were taken by the Foreign Office. He was a citizen of the world and was singularly successful in gaining the good will both of foreign nations and of his own people. M. Poincaré declared that King Edward "had a special gift, in which he has never been surpassed—the gift of inspiring governments and peoples with a well-grounded confidence in the good intentions of the people and Government of England."

IV. **Personal.**

He was not a man of deep religious feeling, although duly observant of religious ceremonies. He read little except the newspapers and was not a deep thinker, but he had very varied interests and showed considerable power of assimilating the ideas of others.

He was very hospitable and extended his friendship to people of every rank. He was on very good terms with all his ministers, particularly Gladstone, Haldane, and Lord Fisher, and had a real liking for Joseph Arch, M.P., once an agricultural labourer and afterwards member for N.W. Norfolk in which Sandringham was situated.

References :

Dictionary of National Biography.
Spectator, June 8th, **1912.**

ASQUITH'S SECOND MINISTRY

February, **1910**–November, **1910.**

The election of January, **1910,** returned Asquith to office, but by a greatly reduced majority. The north of England returned a large majority of Liberal or Labour members pledged to support the Budget, to oppose Tariff Reform and to limit the power of the Lords. But the Unionists gained many seats in the South and Midlands and, while in the previous Parliament the Liberals had an absolute majority of 106 over all other parties combined, in January, **1910,** the Liberals numbered only two more than the Unionists, and could secure a majority of 117 over the opposition only with the support of 75 Irish Nationalists and 40 Labour members.

The Irish Nationalists held the balance between Liberals and Unionists and on their support the Ministry depended for success. They supported Asquith partly because they thought that the House of Lords would strongly oppose any scheme of Home Rule.

I. The Budget.

After some delay, said to be partly due to the objection of the Irish Nationalists to the proposed increase in the duties on spirits, the Budget was reintroduced and carried in the Commons by 324 votes to 231. It was accepted by the Lords on April 28th.

II. The Veto of the Lords.

A. The Government determined to formulate a plan of reform before asking the King to promise to create the number of new peers necessary to carry their reform through the House of Lords.

The necessity of reform was recognised by the Lords who, on Lord Rosebery's suggestion, passed resolutions in favour of reform and reconstitution.

Resolutions were carried by the Commons denying the right

of the Lords to veto a money bill passed by the Commons and affirming that their general right of vetoing legislation should be modified. These resolutions were incorporated in the Parliament Bill.

B. The Parliament Bill, **1920,** abolished the power of the Lords to reject a money bill and gave them the power of suspending and not rejecting any other legislative measures passed by the Commons. Any public bill, other than a money bill, passed by the Commons in the lifetime of a single Parliament in three successive sessions and rejected by the Lords shall, on its rejection for the third time by the Lords, be presented to his Majesty and become an Act of Parliament on receiving the Royal Assent.

C. Veto Conference.

The death of King Edward VII on May 6th, **1910,** caused unavoidable delay, and the desire to diminish the difficulties of his successor led to an attempt to settle the question by a Veto Conference in which both parties were represented. But the Conference proved ineffective ; in November an early dissolution seemed inevitable, but Asquith informed the King that the Ministers could not advise a dissolution unless " His Majesty will be ready to exercise his constitutional powers, which may involve the prerogative of creating Peers " to ensure that the policy of the Government should be carried into effect if approved by the new House of Commons. The King gave the assurance desired and the Government appealed to the country.

References :

England and the British Empire, Vol. IV, by Innes. (Rivingtons.)

Life of Lloyd George, Vol. IV, by Edwards, chaps. VI.–VII.

ASQUITH'S THIRD MINISTRY[1]

February, 1911–May, 1915.

The election of December, **1910,** resulted in the return of 272 Liberals, 271 Unionists, 76 Nationalists, 42 Labour members, and 8 Independent Nationalists.

I. The Parliament Act, passed August 10th, 1911.

A. The " Veto Bill " provided that—

(*a*) The Lords should lose the power of rejecting Bills which the Speaker of the House of Commons decided to be " Money Bills."

(*b*) Any other Bill passed three times by the Commons in the lifetime of a single Parliament became law, without the assent of the Lords after two years.

(*c*) That the House of Commons should sit for a maximum of five years instead of seven as provided by the Septennial Act.[2]

B. Opposition.

The Unionists held that it was essential that the Lords should have the power of compelling any Government to appeal to the country if it brought forward measures without adequate popular support, and their opposition was largely due to the knowledge that if the " Veto Bill " was passed the Government would bring in a Home Rule Bill, which, under the new arrangement, would become law in spite of the opposition of the Lords. They admitted that the old system was faulty, that the House of Lords represented no one, and passed a resolution that birth should not qualify for membership. They advocated reconstruction ; Lord Lansdowne suggested that the numbers of the House of Lords should be diminished, that most of the members should be elected and the rest nominated by the Crown.

Some suggested the introduction of the Referendum as a

[1] See also note on " The Story of England," page 1126.

[2] *Notes on British History*, Vol. III, page 554.

means of ascertaining that any given measure had the approval of the electorate. The suggestion was not adopted because it was thought that a referendum would not in practice be limited to a single issue, and that there was no means of ensuring that enough votes would be cast to show the real feeling of the country.

The Liberals held that the Lords had used their power to reject Liberal measures of which the country approved.

Some Unionists wished to throw out the Bill in spite of the King's promise to appoint, if necessary, enough peers to ensure its passage and a number of "last ditchers"[1] voted against the Bill. But most of the Unionist peers stayed away and the Bill was passed by the Lords in a half-empty House by a majority of seventeen on August 10th, **1911.**

C. Criticism.

(1) The Bill was a constitutional revolution. The House of Commons became the sovereign power in the State.

(2) The power of the Cabinet was increased and a heavy responsibility was placed on the Speaker.

(3) The preamble of the Bill contained a promise that a scheme of reconstruction would be introduced, and the failure of the Government to redeem this promise led to strong protests from the Unionists.

II. **The Insurance Bill, 1911.**

Amended **1913,** applied to the Army and Navy, **1915.**

Most people admitted the need of some such measure, but the problems as to whether the scheme was to be voluntary or compulsory, universal, contributory led to great differences of opinion.

A. The Bill.

(1) Sickness.

(*a*) Provided insurance for the poor against sickness in return for contributions from the employed of fourpence, from the

[1] So called because they vowed they would "die in the last ditch" rather than submit.

employer of threepence, and from the State of twopence per week. The insured person thus got "ninepence for fourpence."[1]

(*b*) Maternity.

A Maternity grant made it easier for mothers to obtain proper food and relieved them of the need of premature return to work.

(*c*) Insurance Committees were established to administer the Act.

(2) Unemployment.

Unemployed workmen in certain trades to receive up to 7s. a week, for not more than fifteen weeks a year, out of an unemployment fund to which employers, employed, and the State contributed each 2½d. weekly for each workman.

B. Difficulties.

(1) The Friendly Societies objected to State competition, but their opposition was overcome by their recognition as "approved" societies, capable of dealing with cases of sickness, disablement, and maternity.

(2) Doctors.

The doctors strongly objected to State control and threatened to strike against the system of panels according to which insured persons were required to join a panel, limited to a maximum of three thousand and actually averaging about one thousand patients, which had the right of choosing its own doctor who was to receive a capitation payment from the State for each panel patient. In practice the panel system has worked well, and is now generally accepted by doctors whose incomes have substantially increased owing to panel work.

Chemists were required to supply drugs for panel patients at a fixed rate.

C. The Working of the Act.

(1) The total number of insured persons in England and Wales in **1920** was 14,000,000, of whom 12,000,000 were enrolled in panels. From **1913–16** about 60 per cent of insured persons,

[1] Lloyd George.

representing one-fifth of the total population, received treatment annually.

(2) The annual sickness equivalent up to **1920** amounted to 14,000,000 weeks' work.

(3) Cost.

The cost of the Act, **1913–16,** averaged annually for doctors £6,500,000, for chemists £1,250,000.

D. Results.

The Act has a beneficial effect on national health, and has been one of the causes for the decline in mortality from Tuberculosis which fell from 1923 in **1881** to 842 in **1920.** It is impossible as yet to give detailed results, but, owing to recent developments in medical practice and administration, the expectation of life has been increased by five years since **1880.**

III. **Payment of Members, 1911.**

A Bill was carried to pay each private member of the House of Commons £400 a year, and the sum of £252,000 was voted for the purpose.

A. Payment of members was not a new arrangement. Formerly Knights of the Shire had received 4s. and burgesses 2s. per day in addition to travelling allowances. The last paid member was Andrew Marvell, M.P. for Hull (died, **1679**), but in return he had to send reports of the proceedings in the Commons to his constituents. In **1780** a parliamentary commission had reported in favour of payment of members.

B. The measure was supported on the ground that poverty ought not to debar any elected M.P. from attending Parliament. Its opponents protested against any interference with honorary public service, feared that the principle of payment would be unduly extended and, incorrectly, denied the right of Parliament to pass such a measure.

IV. **The Railway Strike, 1911** (page 1290).

V. **The Welsh Disestablishment Bill, 1913–14.**

The Bill provided that the Anglican Church in Wales should be disestablished and partially disendowed, but that it should be allowed to retain all endowments made since **1660.**

The supporters of the measure argued that Wales, being a different nation from England, had the right of refusing to continue the establishment in Wales of the Anglican Church; that most of the Welsh were Nonconformists; that most of the Welsh M.P.'s had demanded Disestablishment.

The opponents of the Bill asserted that all the endowments were the absolute property of the Established Church; that the Anglican Church in Wales was indissolutely connected with the Anglican Church in England, and that the connection between Wales and England was too close to justify the separation of the Churches. They particularly resented the transference of an annual payment of £170,000 a year from the Church to museums and county councils.

The third reading of the Bill was passed by the Commons on July 8th, **1913,** but the Bill was rejected by the Lords. It was passed by the Lords in June, **1914.**

VI. **The Irish Home Rule Bill, 1912** (page 1291).

VII. **The Plural Voting Bill, 1913.**

Prohibited an elector from voting in more than one constituency, reduced the period of residence necessary for a vote. The Bill strengthened the position of the Liberals as the majority of Plural Voters were Unionists.

VIII. **Liberal Government, 1906–13.**

The Liberals had met with a considerable measure of success, although not altogether along the lines indicated by Campbell-Bannerman in his Albert Hall speech of December 21st, **1905.** Their success in limiting the power of the House of Lords arose out of the dispute about the People's Budget, **1909,** and was not part of their original programme, although reference was made in the King's speech in February, **1907,** to the "unfortunate

differences between the two Houses." Their financial policy had proved successful in spite of heavy increases in expenditure on the Navy, Army, Old Age Pensions, and Insurance; the national debt had been largely reduced and the total volume of foreign trade had increased 49 per cent since 1903. The crises in Morocco[1] had been settled, on the whole satisfactorily, and better relations established with Germany.

But the record of the Government in education was very disappointing. Little had been done to deal with the land question, overcrowding in towns, the growing burden of the rates. In spite of such measures as the Old Age Pensions and Insurance Acts, the condition of the life of the working classes showed little improvement, and the recurrence of strikes[2] gave ample proof of serious discontent.

References:

As before.

THE BALKAN STATES

The Greeks had occupied the southern part of the Balkan peninsula from ancient times. The Southern Slavs had come from Central Europe between the Carpathians and the Alps, and had settled in the Balkan peninsula A.D. 500–650, driving the Greeks to the south. They had been converted to the Greek Church by Cyril about A.D. 860.

These Balkan or Southern Slavs, so called to distinguish them from the Austrian or Northern Slavs of Bohemia, included the people of Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. Of these, the Roumanians had been strongly influenced by Roman civilisation; the Bulgarians, so called from the Volga along which they had once lived, had conquered the Slavs living between the Danube and the Balkans, and, although of Tartar stock, had become thoroughly Slav in customs and language.

At the end of the eighteenth century the whole of the country was subject to Turkey; during the nineteenth century most of

[1] Page 1065. [2] Page 1291.

it became independent. The independence of Greece was recognised by the Sultan, September 14th, **1829.** Subject to his paramount power, the Sultan recognised Milos Obrenovitch as Prince of Serbia, August 15th, **1829 ;** Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as Prince of Roumania, October 24th, **1866.** By the Treaty of Berlin, **1878,** Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro gained their independence of Turkey. Charles was crowned King of Roumania, **1881 ;** Milan of Serbia, **1882.** Bulgaria was made an autonomous principality tributary to the Sultan.

I. **From the Treaty of Berlin to 1900.**

A. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878.[1]

The Treaty of Berlin was designed to restrict the advantages gained through the Treaty of San Stephano by Russia, which Beaconsfield regarded as a danger to Great Britain.

The influence of Russia, the greatest Slav state, was weakened

(1) By her failure to secure the recognition of a Big Bulgaria (which she expected would be susceptible to Russian influence), owing to the separation of Eastern Roumelia from Bulgaria.

(2) By the resentment of the Roumanians owing to the cession of Bessarabia to Russia.

B. The growth of Bulgaria.

(1) **1870.** Recognition of the Bulgarian Exarchate as a national Church, independent of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople.

(2) Prince Alexander.

(*a*) April 29th, **1879.** Alexander of Battenberg was elected Prince of Bulgaria with the goodwill of Russia, but his power was weakened by the interference of Russia in the internal government of the country. Growth of national opposition to Russian domination ; Stambouloff, the son of an innkeeper, the leader of the movement.

(*b*) **1885.** Eastern Roumelia, by a peaceful revolution, joined Bulgaria. Alexander, urged by Stambouloff, accepted the crown

[1] *Notes on British History,* Vol. IV, page 918.

of "Big Bulgaria," which, in defiance of the Treaty of Berlin, now came into existence. The approval of France and Great Britain prevented the Sultan from interfering, but King Milan of Serbia declared war on Bulgaria. His action caused a wonderful national rally in Bulgaria. He was routed at Slivnitza, November 19th, **1885,** by Prince Alexander. Peace was made by the Treaty of Bucharest, **1886,** and a new state "was evolved out of the protoplasm of Balkan chaos."

(*c*) August 21st, **1886.** The growing national feeling roused the jealousy of the Russians, who induced a number of disappointed officers to kidnap Alexander and convey him to Russian territory. He returned and was welcomed with enthusiasm by the Bulgarians. But "The Battenberger," feeling unable to maintain his position against Russian intrigue, finally abdicated, September 3rd, **1886.**

(3) Ferdinand.

July 7th **1887,** Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was made Prince of Bulgaria.

C. Serbia.

(1) **1829.** Murder of George Petrovic, Kara [Black] George, the first national leader of Serbia in her revolt against the Turks, by Milos Obrenovitch, who was recognised by the Sultan in the same year.

(2) Serbia was seriously weakened by the scandals of King Milan (abdicated **1889**), the grand-nephew of Milos Obrenovitch, and the misgovernment of his son Alexander, who in **1900** married Draga Maschin, the widow of an engineer. "The finances were in disorder, no public works were undertaken, the Oriental line remained Serbia's solitary railway, the army was without rifles or artillery."[1] Alexander suspended the Constitution, and he and Queen Draga were assassinated by a military conspiracy, June 10ht, **1903.**

(3) **1903.** Election of Peter Karageorgevic, grandson of Kara George, as King of Serbia.

[1] *The Future of the Southern Slavs*, Taylor, page 77.

D. Macedonia.

Bulgaria and Serbia were most anxious to obtain Macedonia, which still belonged to Turkey, and to secure a port on the Ægean. Both had at different times exercised supremacy in the country, the inhabitants of which were partly Serb and partly Bulgarian, "capable of being moulded into Serbs or Bulgars, according as their destinies led them."

1870–1900. Bulgarian influence spread, partly owing to the internal weakness of Serbia, partly owing to the political activity of the Bulgarians. But in **1878** the Macedonians appealed to the Congress of Berlin that they might be incorporated with Serbia.

II. The Austrian Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, October 7th, 1908.

Although there were a considerable number of Slavs in the Austrian Empire, they were outweighed in influence, though not in numbers, by the Germans and Magyars, who constituted the "Dual" Monarchy of Austro-Hungary. The cause of the Slavs was strongly supported by the Archduke Ferdinand, the heir to the Empire, who had married a Slav, the Countess Chotek, and supported the policy of "Trialism," i.e. the formal recognition of the Slavs as a third constituent of the Austrian Empire. He favoured the incorporation of Bosnia in the Austrian Empire because it would strengthen the Slav element as opposed to the Germans and Magyars. But Trialism was very different from Pan-Slavism.[1]

Austria had adopted the policy of Drang nach Osten and was anxious to secure easy access to the Ægean. For the success of this scheme the elimination of Serbia as a political factor in the Balkans was essential.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for which the Archduke and the Austrian Foreign Minister Aehrenthal were responsible, increased the number of Austrian Slavs and strengthened Austrian power in the Balkans.

A. The opportunity for annexation was favourable.

(1) Turkey, the nominal owner of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was

[1] *Infra.*, B (2).

weakened by the successful rising of the Young Turks against the Sultan, **1908.**

(2) Russia, the champion of the Slav cause, had not recovered from her defeat by the Japs, and was prevented from assisting Serbia by the threat that such a step would lead to war with Germany.

B. The annexation was of great importance.

(1) It strengthened the union of Austria and Germany, both of which had designs on the East, and established friendly relations between the Kaiser and the Archduke.

(2) Serbia had grown steadily stronger since **1903** and had adopted a policy of strong opposition to Austria. Serbia was a strong supporter of the Pan-Slav movement, which aimed at a close union into an independent state under the leadership of Serbia of the Southern Slavs, including Bosnia, and which has materialised with the recent creation of Jugo-Slavia. A passionate Pan-Serb propaganda invaded all the South Slavonic provinces of the Empire.[1]

Serbia was anxious to secure an outlet on the Adriatic and was engaged in a tariff war, " the Pig War," with Austria, which tried to restrict the export from Serbia of pigs. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was a serious check to Serbian policy, because it prevented Serbia from securing unimpeded access to the harbours of Dalmatia. It showed clearly the danger of annexation by Austria and was the direct cause of the revival of national feeling in Serbia.

(3) It was an unwarranted violation of the Treaty of Berlin by which Austria had been allowed to occupy, not to annex, these countries.

(4) It was so strongly resented by Italy, owing to the growth of Austrian power on the Adriatic, that it seemed likely that she would withdraw from the Triple Alliance.

(5) " The Great War of **1914** was implicit in the events of **1908.**"[2]

[1] Prof. Delbrück, *Contemporary Review*, March, 1921, page 323.
[2] **Marriott.**

III. The Balkan League, 1912.

A. The Serbo-Bulgarian Alliance of 1912.

In spite of their difference about Macedonia, common hostility against Turkey and the favourable opportunity afforded by the war between Italy and Turkey[1] led Serbia and Bulgaria to make an alliance, March 13th, **1912.** This provided -

(1) That Serbia should recognise the claim of Bulgaria to Central Macedonia.

(2) That Bulgaria should send an army of 200,000 men against Austria if that Power attacked Serbia.

Serbia's immediate object was the conquest of Albania, which would give her the port of Durazzo and a long coast-line on the Adriatic. It was highly probable that war with Austria would follow. Owing to the fear that the Powers would object, the Albanian project was not mentioned in the treaty; but the Bulgarians knew "that, though not mentioned in terms, the matter was fundamental, was, in fact, virtually a suppressed clause."[2]

B. Following a massacre of Christians by the Turks in Macedonia, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins demanded complete autonomy and the reconstruction of frontiers according to nationality. On the refusal of Turkey war broke out.

October 8th. The King of Montenegro fired with his own hand the first shot against the Turks.

October 17th. Turkey declared war against Bulgaria and Serbia.

October 18th. Greece declared war on Turkey.

C. The First Balkan War, 1912-13.

The Powers warned the combatants that they would not recognise any territorial readjustment in the Balkans. Russia and Austria tried to patch up a piece, but could not stop the League.

[1] Page 1066.

[2] *The Future of the Southern Slavs*, Taylor, page 211. The whole chapter gives the Serbian view of the incident.

(1) October, **1912.** The Bulgarians routed the Turks at Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas, but failed to pierce the Tchataldja lines which protected Constantinople.

The Serbians routed the Turks at Kumanovo (October 22), took Uskub, the old capital of Serbia, conquered the Sanjac of Novi Bazar, and captured Durazzo, on the Adriatic.

(2) December 3rd, **1912.** An armistice (not including Greece) was followed by negotiations in London. These were broken off owing to a successful revolution at Constantinople of Enver Bey, one of the leaders of the Young Turks, who had become a strong partisan of Germany. War was resumed.

(3) March 6th. The Greeks captured Janina.

March 26th, **1913.** The Bulgarians captured Adrianople with the assistance of the Serbians, who sent help on condition that the arrangement regarding Central Macedonia was reconsidered.[1]

April 26th, **1913.** The Montenegrins captured Scutari, in Albania.

(4) By the Treaty of London, May 30th, **1913,** the Powers, owing to the influence of Austria and Italy, ordered the League to evacuate Albania and compelled Turkey to make great concessions to the Balkan States. The division of the spoil led to dissension among the victors. Serbia claimed compensation in Macedonia for the disappointment of her hopes in Albania, justifying her repudiation of the treaty of **1912** on the ground that Bulgaria had not been called on to render military aid against Austria. Bulgaria was dissatisfied with her share, and Greece and Serbia made an alliance against Bulgaria, June 2nd, **1913.**

D. The Balkan War of **1913,** June and July.

June 30th, **1913.** Bulgaria treacherously attacked Greece and Serbia, thus breaking the Balkan League. Roumania and Turkey supported the two latter, and Bulgaria was compelled to yield.

[1] *The Future of the Southern Slavs*, page 214. Page 1105 A (1).

E. The Treaty of Bucharest, August 10th, **1913.**

(1) Adrianople was restored to Turkey; Roumania received territory in the north-east of Bulgaria; Albania received a German ruler, Prince William of Wied, who took the title of Mpret[1] of Albania and was chased out of the country in a few days by his turbulent subjects; Serbia obtained Central Macedonia; Montenegro, Western Macedonia; Greece, Southern Macedonia with Salonika.

(2) Results.

The Powers made a settlement which neglected differences of race and interest, and rendered further conflict inevitable. "Serbia has acquired a population which is mostly Bulgar and Albanian, although of the latter she has massacred and expelled many thousands. Bulgars have been captured by Greeks, Greeks by Bulgars, Albanians by Greeks, and not one of these races has yet shown signs of being capable to rule each other justly."[2]

The Slavs, especially Serbia and Bulgaria, had been so weakened that it seemed that they could offer little resistance to the extension of the influence of Austria and of Germany in the Balkans, and in **1912,** owing to the Balkan crisis, Germany made great increases in her army. The weakening of the Slavs was a rebuff to Russia, the champion of the Slav cause. Turkey, the strong supporter of Germany, was saved from disruption, and the prospect of Russia's securing Constantinople became remote.

(*a*) Bulgaria lost much of Macedonia and Thrace, and was particularly incensed against Great Britain. This resentment was one of the reasons why she joined the Central Powers in **1915.**

(*b*) Serbia had gained much, but she had not gained the seaport on the Adriatic she was most anxious to secure. But she had aroused the resentment of Austria by cutting the road to the East that Austria desired, and had strengthened her position as the leader of the Jugo-Slavs. Austria's interests demanded the destruction of Serbia, and, when in **1914** Austria thought the

[1] i.e. Imperator.
[2] Rose, quoting Durham's *Siege of Scutari.*

opportunity of crushing Serbia had arrived, she gladly seized it and provoked the Great War.

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THE HISTORY OF PRUSSIA

Frederick the Great held that war was a necessary condition of government ; Bismarck asserted that " the only sound principle of action for a great-state is political egoism." The application of these theories led to the transformation of Germany by Prussia in the nineteenth century and to the Great War of the twentieth.

I. The Beginning of Prussia.

A. Brandenburg.

(1) Brandenburg originated in the Nordmark, founded in **928** by Henry the Fowler. In **1351** the Mark of Brandenburg was made an Electorate by the Golden Bull of Charles IV, and the Margrave became one of the seven German princes who elected the Holy Roman Emperor.[1]

(2) **1417.** Frederick of Zollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, bought the Mark of Brandenburg from the Emperor Sigismund and became the first Hohenzollern Elector.

[1] The others were the Archbishops of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence ; the King of Bohemia ; the Electors of Saxony and the Palatinate. Later the Electors of Bavaria (1648) and Bavaria (1692) were added.

B. East Prussia.

c. **1225**, Prussia was conquered and converted by the Knights of the Teutonic Order; *c.* **1525,** Albert of Hohenzollern, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, seized its territories, became a Lutheran, and was recognised as Duke of East Prussia under the suzerainty of Poland.

C. The Kingdom of Prussia.

In **1618** East Prussia and Brandenburg were united. Thus Lutheran Prussia became a Baltic power, but the two parts were separated by Pomerania and Poland.

Frederick William, the Great Elector (**1640–88**), delivered East Prussia from the suzerainty of Poland, gained Eastern Pomerania, and created Berlin; **1701,** the Elector Frederick crowned himself in Königsberg as "King *in* East Prussia"; **1719,** Frederick William I gained Western Pomerania from Sweden, and established a military system which enabled Frederick II, "Frederick the Great" (**1740–86**), in alliance with England, to gain Silesia from Austria, **1745.** In **1772,** Frederick the Great got West Prussia by the First Partition of Poland, **1772,** thus becoming King *of* Prussia; and Dantzig and Thorn by the Second in **1792.**

By **1795** the Kingdom of Prussia extended from the Elbe to the Niemen and included the southern coast of the Baltic. "Out of the army, the bureaucracy, and the monarchy [Frederick the Great] made the core of Prussian thought and action and the brazen rock of the Prussian State."

II. **The Kingdom of Prussia and Napoleon.**

A. Defeat.

The defeat of Prussia was due not only to the genius of Napoleon, but also to the deterioration in her Army and the inefficiency of Kings Frederick William II and III. On October 14th, **1806,** Napoleon crushed Prussia at Jena; by the Treaty of Tilsit, July 7th, **1807,** Prussia lost her recent gains and all territory west of the Elbe, and her army was reduced to 42,000 men.

B. Revival.

The revival of Prussia was due to the efforts of Stein, who aimed at regaining independence by "rousing a moral, religious, patriotic spirit in the nation," and reformed finances and local and central government; of Scharnhorst and Humbolt, who reorganised the army and education. The philosopher Fichte urged the German nation to fan "the consuming flame of higher patriotism and national spirit"; and the Tugendbund, founded **1808,** led to a revival of morality and religion.

C. The War of Liberation.

The result of the revival was the War of Liberation, which began on March 17th, **1813,** after the French retreat from Moscow, and ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig,[1] the "Battle of the Nations," October 16–19, **1813.**

D. The Congress of Vienna, **1815.**

Prussia received Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia, Northern Saxony, her former possessions in Poland, and the left bank of the Rhine from Aix-la-Chapelle to Mayence. Prussia thus regained her old territory, with additions of great industrial value; she became the guardian of the Middle Rhine and was brought into immediate contact with France. Prussia became an economic whole by the law of **1818,** which abolished internal Customs duties and substituted a large measure of free trade for the sixty-seven different tariffs which had previously existed in the country.

Thus there had been formed a new Prussia which was destined to become the foundation of the unity of Germany.

III. **Otto von Bismarck.**

Born April 1st, **1815,** at Schoenhausen in Brandenburg of a very old Junker family. He was a pure Brandenburger;[2] educated at Göttingen University, where he fought twenty-six duels;

[1] *Notes on British History*, IV, page 697.

[2] Few of the men who made Prussia were Brandenburgers. Stein was a Nassauer, Hardenberg a Hanoverian, Blücher a Mecklenburger, Moltke a Holsteiner.

gained an excellent knowledge of English and French; entered the Diplomatic Service, but relinquished it, **1838,** on succeeding to the family estates, which he administered most successfully; **1847,** married Johanna von Puttkammer; **1847–51,** a prominent member of the Conservative Party in the Prussian Parliament; **1851–59,** represented Prussia at the Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfort; **1859–62,** Prussian Minister to St. Petersburg; September, **1862,** appointed Minister President by King William I, who had succeeded Frederick William IV in January, **1861.**

A. Bismarck's aim.

He determined to maintain the individuality of Prussia: "Prussians we are, and Prussians we will remain." The interests of Prussia were his first concern: "My attitude towards foreign Governments springs not from any antipathy, but from the good or evil they may do to Prussia." He determined also "to give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia"; this involved opposition to Austria, the predominant partner in the Diet. He considered that a strong Prussian monarchy controlling a powerful army was a necessary condition of success.

B. Bismarck and the Prussian Throne.

Frederick William IV had summoned the States-General for the first time in **1847;** difficulties arose when they demanded a written constitution, which the King refused to grant. A rising in Berlin was put down by force, March 15–16, **1848,** but the struggle between the Crown and Parliament continued, and a crisis arose early in September, **1862,** when the latter refused to sanction the increased expenditure necessitated by the proposed increase in the army. Bismarck accepted the post of Minister President, although no budget had been passed and there was a hostile majority in Parliament; he persuaded the King to tear up the letter of abdication he had signed and succeeded in maintaining the power of the Crown. He strongly supported Von Roon and Moltke in their successful attempts to strengthen the Prussian army.

IV. Austria.

A. The supremacy of Austria.

Austria was anxious to maintain her position as the leading state in Germany and did all she could to weaken the power of Prussia. The smaller states favoured Prussia ; the four kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Würtemberg supported Austria. In **1849** Frederick William IV founded the Prussian League of the North, and in **1850** a league of Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg was formed against Prussia. In October, **1850,** a dispute arose in Hesse ; Bavaria and Prussia both sent troops into the Electorate, and war seemed imminent. But Frederick William IV, who through fear of Austria had refused the Imperial crown, gave in, and by the Convention of Olmütz recognised Austria's right to protect Hesse and broke up the Prussian League of the North. From **1851–61** Austria was supreme, and Bismarck determined to break the supremacy of "the enemy."

B. The defeat of Austria.

The growing resentment against Austria had been shown in **1860** by the reorganisation, on a Free Trade basis, of the Customs Union (Zollverein), from which Austria was excluded, and in March, **1862,** by a commercial treaty with France. Bismarck declared that "the German problem cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees, but only by blood and iron." By skilful diplomacy he secured the co-operation of Austria in the Schleswig-Holstein question,[1] but when Austria resented the incorporation of the duchies in Prussia he hampered Austria by making a treaty with her enemy, Italy, **1866,** and, confident in the power of the reorganised Prussian army, demanded that Austria should be excluded from the German Confederation. He withdrew the Prussian representative from the Diet when it decided to support the claims of Austria. The "Three Weeks' War" that followed resulted in the complete defeat of Austria at Sadowa (July 3rd, **1866**).

[1] *Notes on British History,* IV, 852.

C. The Peace of Prague, August 23rd, **1866.**

The German Confederation was dissolved ; Austria was compelled to sever her connection with Germany. Prussia, enlarged by the annexation of Hanover, Hesse, and Frankfort, became the leader of a North German Confederation embracing all states north of the Main. An independent South German Confederation included the German states south of the Main.

V. **France.**[1]

A. Bismarck said "that a war with France would succeed that with Austria, lay in the logic of history." The success of Prussia alarmed France, the old ally of Bavaria. Thiers declared publicly that "Prussia must not be allowed to go further, and that the unification of Germany must at all costs be prevented."

B. The election, on July 4th, **1870,** of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to the throne of Spain incensed France against Prussia ; but Leopold, on pressure from Great Britain and Austria, withdrew, much to the disgust of Bismarck, who was anxious for war and knew that the Prussian Army was ready. On July 13th, at Ems, Bismarck altered a telegram sent him by King William describing an interview with the French Ambassador, and turned a courteous message into an insult to France. The next day France declared war, the real cause of which was long-standing enmity between the two nations ; France could not forget Sadowa, nor Germany Jena. Professor Mommsen even declared that the Prussians were fighting Louis XIV.

In the Franco-Prussian War (July 14th, **1870,** to January 28th, **1871**) France won a small success at Saarbrücken (August 2nd), but was heavily defeated at Weissenburg (August 4th), at Spicheren, at Worth (August 6th), and at Sedan, where Napoleon surrendered (September 1st) ; Metz capitulated October 27th, and Paris on January 28th, **1871.** France surrendered Alsace and Lorraine and paid a war indemnity of five milliards of francs.

[1] For details of the Franco-Prussian War, see *Notes on British History*, IV, page 904.

C. The danger from France united Germany. By November, **1870**, the Southern German states had joined the North German Confederation, and on January 18th, **1871**, in spite of the opposition of Bavaria and Würtemberg and of his own unwillingness, King William I of Prussia became the first German Emperor, or Emperor *in* Germany. The jealousy of the southern states made the title of Emperor *of* Germany impossible. The transformation of Germany by Prussia was accomplished. Germany had become a Confederation of united states of which the Emperor was the head; and the authority of the Emperor rested upon the military power of Prussia. At Versailles Bismarck completed the work he had commenced at Prague.

VI. The Maintenance of the German Empire.

A. Foreign policy.

Bismarck, now a Prince and Imperial Chancellor, as well as Prussian Minister President, tried by a policy of peace to preserve the Empire he had made, although in **1875** he was with difficulty prevented from attacking France. With great skill he re-established friendly relations with Austria, and in **1872** the Emperors of Russia, Austria, and Germany made a new, though informal, alliance. But the relations between Germany and Russia became less friendly, and to preserve the peace of Europe Bismarck made a Triple Alliance (**1882**) between Germany, Austria, and Italy. He claimed to have acted as "the honest broker" between rival parties at the Treaty of Berlin, **1878**, where he did much to avert the outbreak of a European war. He tried to isolate France, and made a skilful use of the difficulties that arose between France and England in Egypt, and France and Italy in Algiers, to accomplish this end. His peace policy gave Germany the opportunity for the industrial progress which was so marked a feature of her history at the end of the nineteenth century; but after his death the Triple Alliance was confronted with the Triple Entente (England, France, and Russia), and the rivalry between the two was one of the causes of the Great War of 1914, which shattered the German Empire.

B. Domestic and Colonial policy.

(1) The Roman Catholics.

Some of the southern states, particularly Bavaria, were Roman Catholic, and Bismarck feared that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church might prove hostile to the German Empire. He supported the Falk Laws of **1873** which established a royal tribunal of ecclesiastical affairs in opposition to the authority of the Pope, and declared "we will not go to Canossa."[1]

The Falk Laws embittered the relations between Church and State and were repealed in **1881**, by which time Bismarck had begun to fear that the growing power of the Socialists was a more serious menace to the unity of the Empire than the influence of the Pope.

(2) For some years he worked with the Liberal Party and did much to strengthen the unity of Germany by a series of constructive measures which affected every part of his internal policy. But in **1879** he broke with the Liberals and introduced Protection to assist the agricultural interest, to fight foreign competition, and to strengthen Imperial finance. He introduced a State monopoly on tobacco and beer in order to meet the cost of Old Age Pensions. This was to some extent a sop to Cerberus, for Bismarck greatly feared the rapidly growing Social Democratic Party, which he thought would prove a danger to the Government. He attempted, in vain, to crush it by legislation, forbidding all Socialist agitation and propaganda.

(3) He favoured the extension of German colonies by means of chartered companies, and in **1885** adopted a policy of colonial expansion in Africa; this caused difficulties with Great Britain, which were amicably settled immediately after Bismarck's retirement in **1890**.[2] But "for Bismarck colonial was always subordinate to European policy"; he was reluctant to embark on any scheme which would prevent Germany from employing all her

[1] A reference to the submission of the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, to Pope Gregory VII, Hildebrand, at Canossa in 1077.

[2] *Notes on British History*, IV, page 962.

forces to maintain her position in Central Europe. He professed no desire for the extension of German influence in the Near East. "I never take the trouble even to open the mail bag from Constantinople. The whole of the Balkans is not worth the bones of a single Pommeranian Grenadier."

VII. **General.**

A. Bismarck's great object was to make Prussia the head of a United Germany and to preserve and strengthen the German Empire which he, more than any other man, had made. In carrying out his object he used skilful though at times unscrupulous diplomacy; he used force when he deemed it necessary, e.g. against Austria in **1866** and France in **1870**; but showed great wisdom in his lenient treatment of Austria after Sadowa, in his negotiations with Italy, in the way he played off England against France. He controlled the foreign policy of his country with a strong hand. In July, **1870,** he made inevitable the war with France which King William's conciliatory temper seemed likely to avert; he compelled the King to accept the title of German Emperor against his will, and made his position so strong that when he sent in his resignation in **1877** the Emperor refused and wrote "Never" on the side of the minute. The Emperor William II "dropped the pilot," March 17th, **1890,** nominally because he disapproved of Bismarck's anti-Socialist policy, really because he was determined to be his own Foreign Minister.

B. His domestic policy was repressive. He detested liberty, and the high-handed methods which had proved successful in foreign policy brought him at various times into conflict with all parties. His later years were embittered by frequent and undignified quarrels with the Parliament.

C. His policy generally, and his colonial policy in particular, were reversed or counteracted before he died on July 31st, **1898,** and "a certain atmosphere of failure had gathered about him in his later days." But his devoted patriotism, his dauntless courage, his clear vision of foreign affairs, and his inflexible

determination made him perhaps the greatest European statesman of the nineteenth century.

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THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT WAR

I. The Prussian Spirit.

" The root cause of the war must be found in the permeation of Germany by the Prussian spirit, and her determination to make that spirit prevail in world politics."[1] Prussia owed her position to war ; Bismarck's policy was one of " blood and iron," and the Kaiser was too ready to " rattle the sabre " and to talk about his " shining armour." Kultur was the essence of Prussian thought, and Kultur was a combination of unfounded pride which regarded all others as immeasurably inferior to Germany, of ruthlessness which justified the use of force and fraud to attain desired ends, and hypocrisy which confidently called on " the good old German god " to bless all its undertakings. The Junker party, the nobility and country gentry, and the army fully accepted an aggressive policy which aimed at securing for Germany " a place in the sun " and involved rivalry with the British Colonial Empire, hostility to France, and the extension of German influence in the Balkans and Far East.[2]

A determined effort was made by the Government to teach

[1] *Europe and Beyond*, J. A. R. Marriott, page 259. Methuen.

[2] For details, see note on " Foreign Politics at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," page 1059.

the people the glory and necessity of war. The Triple Entente was represented as a grave danger to the safety of Germany, and the people were urged to prepare for the " war of defence " which was likely to ensue. Philosophers such as Nietzsche, who taught that " a good war hallows every cause," and preached the right of the blonde beast, the superman (with whom the Germans identified themselves), to subjugate the world by brute force ; historians such as Treitschke, whose *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century* was a defence of the Prussian spirit ; military writers such as General von Bernhardi, who published *Germany and the Next War* in **1911,** commended the ideas of the Government, and the teaching of the Universities and the schools was directed to the same end. The whole of the population looked forward eagerly to " Der Tag," for which the Government over a series of years made ample naval and military preparation ; the completeness of the arrangements for the invasion of Belgium is by itself a convincing proof of the guilt of Germany.

Germany was led to commence the war in August, **1914,** partly owing to the conditions which her army of civilian spies reported as prevailing in France and Great Britain. The French Army was supposed to be in a poor state, the country was suffering from political and financial scandals, and Syndicalism seemed to be weakening the Government. The British Army in Ireland seemed disaffected, and Ulster on the verge of rebellion ; in England there were serious differences between Capital and Labour, and undue importance was attached to the Suffragettes. The British Dominions beyond the Seas seemed to the Germans unlikely to render efficient co-operation, and particularly India (in which the agitation against the British rule was very noisy), and South Africa, which the Germans thought would gladly seize the opportunity of breaking away from the Empire. The war, instead of increasing differences, acted as a bond of national and Imperial union. The entire misapprehension of the facts was the first of many examples of the utter incompetence of German diplomacy.

When Austria adopted her aggressive policy towards Serbia, Germany, although the Kaiser loudly proclaimed his desire for peace, made no attempt to restrain her ally from a course which

seemed bound to lead to a war with Russia, "the elder brother of the Slav races," and therefore to war with France and possibly England. Serbia "had the audacity to shut the gate to a Pan-German Empire," and must therefore be crushed.

The German plea that they were waging a defensive war, which was necessitated by the Russian mobilisation and the possibility of a French attack, is incorrect. They fought to secure predominance, and their success "would have been fatal to the interests and security of every other nation in Europe."[1]

But there was a belief, sincere but erroneous, in Germany that King Edward VII had initiated an anti-German policy, "systematically developed by means of conversations on the part of England with Paris and Petersburg, which is now finally being completed and set in motion by George V. The encirclement of Germany has at last become a fully accomplished fact. The net has suddenly been drawn over our heads. . . . Edward VII is dead, but he is still stronger than I, who am alive."[2]

Bethmann-Hollweg[3] asserts that it was "English foreign policy that first made war possible by unchaining the bellicose inclinations of the Dual Alliance with assurance of British support. . . . We find the Anglo-German conflict to be the ultimate origin of the war."

II. **Austria.**

The determination of Austria to crush Serbia, which was a most important element in the anti-Austrian Pan-Slav movement and a serious obstacle to the realisation of Austrian schemes in the Balkans, was one of the chief causes of the Great War.

III. **Russia.**

Many authorities hold that Russia entered the war to help Serbia. Some hold that her aggressive policy was one of the direct causes of the war. "Her forward party, which was strongly represented in the highest circles, aspired to gain control of the

[1] Headlam-Morley.

[2] From the Kaiser's papers, found among German official documents and published in *The Times*, November, 1920.

[3] In *Reflections on the Great War*, page 165. Thornton Butterworth.

Straits and to unite the Jugo-Slavs under Serbia's sceptre at Austria's expense- neither of which ambitions could be realised except at the cost of a world war."[1]

Prof. Delbrück asserts that the Russian mobilisation "was war."

But Russia saw that the Germans were trying to secure Constantinople and knew that Austria could mobilise more quickly. These facts, together with the need of helping Serbia, explain why Russia was compelled to mobilise.

IV. Serbia.

Although in the crisis arising from the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand Serbia displayed the greatest moderation, her anti-Austrian policy may be regarded as a cause of the war.

V. Alliance or Entente.

The antagonism of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy) and the Triple Entente (Russia, France, England) divided Europe into two hostile camps.

VI. Turkey.

The growing weakness of the Turkish power in Europe led to a strong effort of Germany, Austria, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Roumania to secure territorial extension in the Balkans and added another element of discord.

VII. The Growth of Armaments.

1913. Germany increased her standing army by 63,000 men; Russia increased hers by 130,000, making her winter peace strength 1,845,000; France introduced the three years' military service.

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[1] Gooch, *History*, April, 1921, page 21.

JULY 23RD TO AUGUST 6TH, 1914

June 28th, **1914.** The Archduke Francis Ferdinand shot in the street at Sarajevo in Bosnia by a young Bosnian, a strong supporter of the Pan-Slav policy. Austria maintained that the assassination was the outcome of Pan-Slav propaganda and assumed, without any proof, that the Serbian Government was directly implicated.

Apparently Austria determined to seize the opportunity to extend her influence in the Balkans, with the assurance that Germany would "keep the ring" and that Russia would not intervene, either because "Russia neither wanted nor was in a position to make war," or because Germany would prevent Russia's intervention, as in **1909.**

July 23rd. Austria presented to Serbia a Note, to be answered in forty-eight hours. "This very short time limit . . . was a complete demonstration that events had been deliberately planned so as to make mediation impossible, in order that the Austrians might crush Serbia before any interference or intervention could be arranged."[1] This Note demanded—

(1) That orders for the suppression of Pan-Slav propaganda should be published in the official Serbian Gazette and in army orders, and that those who had taken part should be deprived of civil and military posts.

(2) That the Austro-Hungarian Government should collaborate in the suppression of Pan-Slavism in Serbia and should

(3) Take part in a judicial investigation in Serbia of Serbians suspected of complicity in the murder of the Archduke.

Germany denied having seen the Note before it was despatched. Italy, the other member of the Triple Alliance, certainly had not seen it.

July 24th. Russia, England, and France urged Serbia to make all possible concessions, and Austria to extend the ridiculously short time limit.

[1] *The History of Twelve Days*, page 71, Headlam-Morley.

Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, and the French Ambassador at Petrograd, urged Great Britain to declare that her interests in the crisis were identical with those of France and Russia. Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, refused, because Britain had no interest in Serbia and such a declaration might drive Germany into war.

July 25th. Serbia, although "no independent nation had ever been called upon to accept a greater humiliation,"[1] made a most conciliatory reply to the Austrian Note, but refused to allow Austro-Hungarian collaboration in criminal proceedings held in Serbia because such collaboration would be a violation of the Constitution. But, to maintain peace, the Serbian Government offered to submit this point to the Hague Tribunal or the Great Powers.

Thirty-five minutes after the receipt of the Note the Austrian Ambassador and his staff left Belgrade.

Austria was obviously determined to make war on Serbia, the leader of the Pan-Slav movement.

German railway stations occupied by troops.

July 26th. The Kaiser hurriedly returned to Germany from a yachting cruise. Sazonoff said that Russia, though anxious to avoid a conflict, "could not allow Serbia to be crushed." The Russians made preliminary arrangements for the mobilisation of thirteen Army Corps, the mobilisation to be made effective if Austria attacked Serbia.

July 27th. Sir Edward Grey proposed that the Serbian question should be referred to the ambassadors of Germany, France, and Italy, sitting under his presidency at London. France, Italy, and Russia agreed; Germany objected because she "would not call Austria before a European tribunal." Austria absolutely declined.

Germany proposed that the question should be discussed between Austria and Russia. Austria refused, in spite of her alliance with Germany.

Sazonoff persuaded the Czar to send a telegram to Prince Alexander of Serbia urging him to do all he could to ensure peace.

[1] English Blue Book.

July 28th. *Austria declared war on Serbia* and mobilised her forces, not only against Serbia, but against the Russian frontier.

July 29th. The Austrians bombarded Belgrade.

Partial mobilisation of Russian forces "for reasons of defence against the preparations of Austria." Russia informed Germany that four districts had been mobilised.

Grey proposed to the German Ambassador, Lichtnovsky, that Austria should cease military operations, but hold Belgrade as a pledge for the settlement of her demands. Austria returned no answer to this proposal, which was forwarded from Berlin. From this day Austria refused to negotiate directly, and all communications to Austria were sent through Berlin.

At a meeting in Berlin the Kaiser is said to have yielded to the threats of the Crown Prince and leading military authorities that they would resign if he adopted a pacific policy.

The Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, proposed to Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador, that Great Britain should remain neutral if Germany undertook—

(1) To make no territorial acquisitions in France (not the French colonies).

(2) To guarantee the neutrality of Holland.

(3) If German forces entered Belgium, to restore the integrity of Belgium after the war if that country had not resisted Germany.

Grey refused to give the guarantee desired, which was "the first clear sign of a general conflict."

Grey told M. Cambon (the French Ambassador) that Great Britain could not take part in a war between France and Germany because it would be largely due to the identity of interest between France and Russia.

The Czar sent a telegram to the Kaiser proposing to refer the Austro-Serbian question to the Hague Tribunal. The Russian Government declared its willingness to acquiesce in any measure which England and France should propose in the interests of peace.

July 30th. King George sent a telegram to Prince Henry of Prussia urging him to persuade Austria to negotiate. "Please

assure William that I am doing all I can, and will continue to do all that lies in my power, to maintain the peace of Europe."

Goschen assured Bethmann-Hollweg that if peace could be preserved with the aid of Germany, neither Great Britain, France, nor Russia would adopt an "aggressive or hostile policy" against Germany or her allies, and hoped that this assurance would lead to "some more definite *rapprochement* between the Powers than has been possible hitherto."

Grey promised Lichtnovsky to support at Petrograd and Paris any reasonable propositions put forward by Germany.

Sazonoff promised Germany that if Austria would recognise the independence of Serbia, Russia would cease her warlike preparations. Germany refused to support this proposal.

German troops concentrated near Thionville and Metz.

July 31st. Russian general mobilisation completed. But Sazonoff offered that if Austria would "stay the march of her troops on Serbian territory" and allow the Great Powers to examine the satisfaction which Serbia could accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her rights as a sovereign state, Russia would maintain her waiting attitude. No answer was returned to Sazonoff's proposal, but Austria professed her willingness to enter into negotiations with the Powers with reference to her negotiations with Serbia, and this suggests that she was unwilling to provoke a European war.

But Germany sent to Russia a demand that she would "stop every measure of war against us and against Austro-Hungary [which had mobilised against Russia] within twelve hours," and demanded from France within eighteen hours "whether she would remain neutral in the event of a Russo-German war." It was obviously unjust to demand that Russia should demobilise while Austria remained mobilised.

The danger of war was proclaimed in Berlin.

Grey sought an assurance from France and Germany that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected. Germany refused to reply. France gave the desired assurance on August 1st.

Saturday, August 1st. *Germany declared war on Russia.*

Grey sent seventeen telegrams to the capitals of Europe trying to preserve peace.

The French Premier, Viviani, stated in reply to Germany that France would do " that which her interests required."

Some British ships seized and their cargoes confiscated by Germany.

The English bank rate rose to 10 per cent.

August 2nd. Grey promised Cambon that, subject to the support of Parliament, the British Fleet would protect the French coasts if the German Fleet came into the North Sea.

Germany presented an ultimatum to Belgium demanding free passage for her troops, although Great Britain had warned her on July 30th, July 31st, and August 1st that the violation of Belgian neutrality would rouse strong feeling in England.

The Germans violated the neutrality of Luxemburg.

August 3rd. *Germany declared war on France* alleging, quite falsely, that French aviators had flown over Belgium and dropped bombs on Nuremburg. Other accounts, equally false, tell of hostile action by French " dirigibles " or " patrols."

King Albert telegraphed to King George asking for help.

Germany invaded Belgium, although she had been a party to the Treaty of London, **1839,** by which Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, and although on August 2nd the German ambassador had assured the Belgian Government that no such invasion would take place.

The invasion of Belgium convinced nearly every Briton that we were bound to fight Germany, and gained in particular the support of the Labour Party.

Goschen asked if German troops could not be withdrawn from Belgium, but Germany refused to consider the question. Bethmann-Hollweg protested against the action of England in going to war on account of " a scrap of paper." " Unfortunately, sir," answered Goschen, " that scrap of paper contains our signature as well as yours."

11.0 p.m. *Great Britain declared war on Germany,* holding herself bound in honour to support the neutrality of Belgium.

The Kaiser was furious at the intervention of Britain. He called the responsible ministers " this pack of base hucksters,"

and denounced their policy as "Archbase and Mephistophelian! but truly English."[1]

August 6th. *Austria declared war on Russia and France.*

Other Powers entered the war on the side of Great Britain and her Allies. Japan, August, **1914**; Italy, May, **1915**; Portugal in March; Roumania in August; Greece in November, **1916**; United States, **1917**; China, Brazil, Montenegro, San Marino, Panama, Cuba, Siam, Liberia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti and Honduras also declared war on Austria and Germany. Turkey came in on the other side, November, **1914,** and Bulgaria, **1915.**

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THE STORY OF ENGLAND

August, **1914**–May, **1915.**

I. The Union of Parties.

A. Lord Lansdowne and Bonar Law stated that they considered that Britain was bound in honour to support France and, on September 2nd, promised the hearty co-operation of the Unionist party in any action the Government might take with that object.

B. The Labour Party and many Liberals, though strongly opposed to war, felt that we were bound to fight to protect the independence of Belgium.

The invasion of Belgium caused all parties to support British intervention.

[1] German official documents, in *The Times*, November, 1920.

C. Only three Ministers—Lord Morley, John Burns, C. P. Trevelyan—resigned office and Parliament declared war on August 4th without a division.

On October 30th Lord Fisher became First Sea Lord of the Admiralty in succession to Prince Louis of Battenberg, who had been compelled to resign owing to his nationality in spite of his unquestionable devotion to the British cause.

II. The Raising of the Army.

A. Mobilisation, August 3rd.

At the outbreak of the war our Regular Army numbered 250,000 men; the Army Reserves 226,000; the Territorials about 260,000; the National Reserve, consisting of time-expired regulars, 200,000. Our Regular Army, though small, was the best in the world; it had profited greatly by the experience of the Boer War, and its organisation had been greatly improved by Lord Haldane.

B. Lord Kitchener.

August 5th. Lord Kitchener was appointed Secretary of State for War. He fully realized the gravity of his task, declared that the war would last three years, and at once proceeded to raise additional forces. "I am put here to conduct a great war, and I have no army." He did not proceed on a territorial basis, but issued a general appeal to the nation asking for half a million men. Recruits poured into "Kitchener's Army" and Kitchener got his quota within eight weeks. He then asked for half a million more and got these by Christmas.

The nation was not yet ready for compulsion and Kitchener did more than any other man could have done to raise a voluntary army. The efforts of Kitchener were supported by the Premier, who stimulated recruiting by powerful speeches in Dublin (September 25th), Cardiff (October 2nd), and in the Guildhall, London, on November 11th.

"The military transformation of the old Regular into a new National Army was his achievement and his alone, for he neither

asked nor took the advice of any man."[1] But Sir Wm. Robertson asserts that[2] "without quite knowing why [Kitchener] sometimes had a wonderful knack in being right in the things that mattered," and that he himself "saw no trace" of that ruthless and domineering disposition attributed to him by those who wished to injure his good name.

C. Transport.

The transport of the troops to France was most successful. The British Fleet commanded the sea and therefore enabled available troops to be despatched to France at any time, and protected our shores from attack while new troops were being trained. The English railways worked miracles. For three weeks seventy-three trains from all parts of England, each of thirty cars, were unloaded at Southampton Docks every fourteen hours. The Expeditionary Force of about 160,000 men was carried safely to France between August 7th and 17th. By November twelve British divisions were in France.

D. The Dominions.

The wonderful response of the Dominions greatly encouraged the Government.

(1) Canada.

Forty thousand Canadians enlisted in less than a month, and within eleven days after Aug. 4th there were 25,000 men in the camp at Valcartier, near Quebec, where a rifle range three and a half miles long was constructed. The First Canadian division entered Plymouth Sound on October 14th, and after training on Salisbury Plain, landed at St. Nazaire early in February, **1915.**

(2) India.

The Indian Army sent two divisions of infantry and one cavalry brigade at once. The larger native states offered their armies, and every state, however small, made some contribution. The native princes were anxious to serve in person, and the Aga Khan, the spiritual head of the Mahommedans, enlisted as a

[1] *The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener*, Esher, p. 62.
[2] *From Private to Field Marshal*, page 287.

private. Some of those who had recently led the agitation against the British rule now did their utmost to secure recruits.

(3) Australia and New Zealand.

Australia offered her navy and raised a force of 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. New Zealand undertook to furnish 8000 men (including 200 Maoris).

(4) South Africa.

The British and Dutch and native chiefs offered their services, and General Botha, one of our most strenuous opponents in the Boer War, rendered invaluable assistance.

(5) General.

The war proved a powerful bond of Empire. "It brought under one banner the trapper of Athabasca, the stockman of Victoria, the Dutch farmer from the back-veld, the tribesman from the Khyber, the gillie from the Scottish hills, and the youth from a London back street."[1]

III. **Finance.**

A. The Chancellor of the Exchequer wisely consulted some of the leading London bankers and the proclamation of a moratorium, the closing of the London Stock Exchange and the raising of the Bank Rate to 10 per cent on August 1st helped to prevent a financial panic.

B. The Commons, on August 6th, voted £100,000,000. They unanimously doubled the income-tax (thus providing an additional £40,000,000 per annum). A 4 per cent loan brought in £450,000,000 before Christmas.

C. Economics.

During the early months of the war important economic arrangements were made. The Government became responsible for 80 per cent of losses caused to shipping by enemy action (but,

[1] John Buchan, Nelson's *History of the War*, Vol. I, page 29.

in spite of the German "blockade," only fifty ships had been lost by May 19th), and took practical control of all railways, bearing part of the expense and guaranteeing dividends. Stock Exchange speculation was stopped and transactions were conducted for cash. Many works were engaged in making munitions, clothing, and equipment for soldiers, but speaking generally business went on much "as usual," although Labour difficulties arose on the Clyde and Mersey. The Government refused to fix prices for foodstuffs, but the Board of Agriculture took measures to increase the amount of corn grown in England. The cost of the war was about £2,000,000 a day, but loans were raised without difficulty at 4 per cent.

IV. **Munitions, 1915.**

As the war progressed it was found that the regular allowance of two machine guns to a battalion was utterly inadequate, and that a great increase in the supply of high explosive shells was imperative. Our heavy losses at Neuve Chapelle[1] were due to lack of high-explosive shells and consequent failure to cut the enemy's wire entanglements. The Prime Minister, who was badly misinformed, stated at Newcastle, on April 20th, that "there is not a word of truth" in the statement that our efforts were hampered by lack of ammunition. Lord French having failed "to awaken both the Government and the public from that apathy which meant certain defeat . . . determined on taking the most drastic measures to destroy the apathy of a Government which had brought the Empire to the brink of disaster . . . I gave instructions that evidence should be furnished to Colonel Repington, military correspondent of *The Times* . . . that the vital need of high-explosive shells had been a fatal bar to our army success on that day."[2] Colonel Repington's telegram "that the want of an unlimited supply of high-explosive shells was a fatal bar to our success" appeared in *The Times* of May 14th. The words were his own, but Lord French expressed his approval of the telegram after it appeared.[3]

[1] Page 1155. [2] "1914," by Viscount French.
[3] *The First World War*, Repington, Vol. I, pages 35–41.

An attempt to throw all the blame on Lord Kitchener led to the burning of the *Daily Mail* on the Stock Exchange on May 22nd and greatly strengthened his position. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons on April 21st, that our output of munitions had increased twentyfold from September to March. There was no doubt that great efforts had been made to meet the deficiency, but it was necessary that the Government should be made to understand that an infinitely greater output was absolutely essential.

V. The National Ministry, May 19th, 1915.

Owing to the outcry about munitions, to general dissatisfaction with the progress of the war, and to the resignation of Lord Fisher, the Liberal Ministry gave way to a Coalition, made up of thirteen Liberals, eight Unionists, and one Labour member. Asquith remained Premier, Sir Edward Grey Foreign Secretary, Lord Kitchener Secretary for War. Balfour became First Lord of the Admiralty in succession to Lord Fisher, Bonar Law, Austin Chamberlain, Lord Curzon, and Lord Robert Cecil represented the Unionists in the new Government. But the most important change was the appointment of Lloyd George as head of the newly formed Ministry of Munitions—McKenna succeeding him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new department vindicated Lord French's assertion that "To organise the nation's industrial resources upon a stupendous scale was the only way if we were to continue with success the great struggle which lay before us."

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THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AND THE RETREAT FROM MONS

August 3rd–September 2nd, **1914.**

The Germans expected that Russian mobilisation would be slow and that Austria would keep Russia in check, and determined to strike a speedy blow with two-thirds of their forces at France through Belgium. They hoped to defeat the French in Belgium, to be in Paris in a month, and, having beaten France, to transfer their main forces to their Eastern frontier in time to crush the Russian attack. Having conquered France and Russia, they would then be free to deal with England and, possibly, America.

I. The Invasion of Belgium.

Three German Army Corps, fully equipped with motor traction to facilitate their advance, crossed the Belgian frontier at Verviers on August 3rd, and within a fortnight one million Germans had entered Belgium.

A. Liege.

Liege was strongly fortified with a ring of twelve outer forts, but General Leman's garrison was too small for his task. The town was taken on August 8th, but the forts held out till August 15th, and fell owing to the effect of the huge German howitzers of 42 centimetres firing high explosives.

The defence of Liege rendered inestimable service to the Allied cause by delaying the German advance for about a week and giving time for British and French reinforcements to get to Belgium.

B. Brussels surrendered without resistance, August 20th.

C. Namur.

The Germans wasted no time as at Liege in massed attacks, but took Namur by shell fire, August 23rd.

D. Louvain.

Louvain was occupied by the Germans on August 17th. Nine days later some drunken German troops fired on their own men. The Germans, who pretended to think that the shots had been fired by townspeople, utterly destroyed the town and treated the people with the utmost cruelty. Similar "frightfulness" was displayed at Termonde, Alost and Malines. The Kaiser said, "My heart bleeds for Louvain."

II. Mons.

A. The French.

The French had started an offensive in Alsace-Lorraine which did not prove entirely successful, but served a good purpose by confusing the German plans, holding up troops which might have been sent to Belgium, and checking the advance of great forces which the Germans had concentrated near Nancy. French troops were sent to Belgium and took up a position on the Sambre and Meuse.

B. The British Expeditionary Force.

In one night four infantry divisions and a cavalry division (90,000 men) were sent to France from Southampton. The Force, commanded by Field-Marshal Sir John French, was divided into two Army Corps under Sir Douglas Haig and General Smith-Dorrien. The force had no heavy artillery, about 480 light and medium guns and 150 machine guns (two to a battalion).

The first engagement in which the British took part was a skirmish in which Dragoon Guards defeated some German Cuirassiers.

C. The Battle.

August 23rd. The Allies took up a strong position on the line Mons–Charleroi–Namur, the British holding a line of about twenty miles along the left flank. The Germans, who had five Army Corps, inflicted loss on the British owing to the accurate

shell-fire of their heavy artillery, but on attacking in massed formation were three times repulsed with great slaughter owing to the remarkably rapid and accurate rifle fire of the British. But General French was compelled to retreat because

(1) The fall of Namur, "the hinge upon which depended the defence of the northern frontier of France," had weakened the left of the allied line, and soon after the French had been defeated in the Battle of Charleroi and driven across the Sambre and Meuse; their neglect to blow up the bridges over these rivers and to fortify their position on the left banks was a grave error. The British were compelled to retreat, as their right was in imminent danger of being outflanked.

(2) He found that the German troops in front of his line were double what he had thought, and

(3) That very strong German forces were moving westward to outflank his exposed left. These were so anxious to outflank the British that they neglected to occupy Boulogne and Calais.

III. The Retreat from Mons.

The retreat from Mons was not an isolated movement, but part of the withdrawal of the whole Allied line pivoting on Verdun.

A. The Retreat.

August 24th. Haig's First Army Corps attacked the Germans on the right, thus enabling Smith-Dorrien to retreat first on the left. The two corps separated.

(1) August 25th. The First Corps.

The First Corps fought successful actions at Landrecies, where the Guards did excellently, crossed the Aisne, August 31st, and fought again at Villers-Cotterets on September 1st.

(2) August 26th. The Second Corps.

The Second Corps was vigorously pursued by von Kluck; fought the Battle of Le Cateau, which took the sting out of the German pursuit, but in which the British lost 7000–8000 killed; crossed the Oise on August 31st, and on the next day effected a junction with the First Corps at Betz.

(3) September 1st 2nd. The united Army crossed the Marne and halted with their left flank resting upon the extreme outer forts of Paris.

B. General.

(1) The retreat from Mons was one of the greatest military feats in history. It covered a distance of 170 miles. It was carried out under ceaseless pressure from an enemy far superior in numbers, far better equipped with heavy artillery, high-explosive shells, and machine-guns. It was hampered by the utter congestion of the roads, by the general difficulty of locating units and communicating with responsible officers. It was assisted by the arrival of a new division which joined the retreating force near Le Cateau, and by the withdrawal of considerable German forces which were sent to East Prussia to resist the invading Russians, who had come into action more speedily than the Germans expected, and by a success gained by the French Fifth Army at Guise on April 29th, which checked the German advance.

(2) The retreat was facilitated by the great skill with which rations were supplied to the soldiers by Sir Wm. Robertson, in spite of the facts that his headquarters were, of necessity, continually changed during the retreat, that the British had not full control of the railways, and the roads were choked with refugees.

(3) The retreat saved the left flank of the French armies, gave time for preparation to the Allies (and time was of the essence of the problem), and afforded convincing proof of what a German historian calls "the magnificent qualities of the British Army."

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THE MARNE AND THE AISNE

I. The Marne, September 6th–13th, 1914.

The Germans had made a most successful advance; on September 3rd their patrols were within eight miles of Paris, and the French Government had withdrawn to Bordeaux. But neither the French nor the British lines were broken, and the Germans determined to defeat the opposing forces, knowing that if they did Paris would fall "like a ripe pear."

A. September 5th. Joffre determined to hold the curving line Paris–Verdun, despatched Manoury to outflank von Kluck's right, and issued his famous order: "There must be no looking back. . . . Troops which can no longer advance must at all costs keep the ground they have won, and die rather than fall back."

B. September 6th. The Allies were drawn up in a semicircle; their left flank, under Manoury, rested upon the fortifications of Paris and overlapped von Kluck's right on the north bank of the Ourcq; next came the British under French, overlapping von Kluck's left; Franchet d'Esperet and Foch opposed von Bülow and von Hausen in the centre; de Cary's army was drawn up across the Marne in front of the Duke of Wurtemburg; and on the extreme right towards Verdun, Sarrail with inferior forces faced the Crown Prince.

C. Von Kluck, ignorant of Manoury's plan, and underestimating the fighting power of the British, swerved to the east to envelop the French line and in pursuit of the British, thus exposing the right flank of the whole German line.

September 8th. Von Kluck, perceiving in time the danger from Manoury, strengthened his right with forces drawn from his left, which was threatened by the British under French. Gallieni, the Military Governor of Paris, sent 10,000 men in 1100 taxicabs to reinforce Manoury. Advance of Franchet d'Esperet on the British right; von Kluck was now in grave danger of envelopment by Manoury, French, and d'Esperet. Foch was driven back in the centre, but the Allied right held out.

D. September 9th. Von Kluck was compelled to retreat along the Ourcq, withdrawing his army most skilfully; and von Bülow, whose right wing was uncovered, fell back before d'Esperet. But Foch was compelled to fall back in the centre, where the Allied line was maintained with the greatest difficulty; but Foch's counter-attacks proved successful and saved the situation by breaking the centre of the German line.

E. September 10th. D'Esperet crossed the Marne in pursuit of von Bülow; and von Hausen, fearing his right would be exposed, retreated. Effective resistance of the fortress of Troyon to the German left.

F. September 13th. End of the German retreat on the line Soissons–Rheims–Verdun.

The victory of the Marne was due largely to the masterly strategy of Joffre. It saved Paris. It shattered the theory of German invincibility; "it was the first time since the great Napoleon that a Prussian army had been turned and driven."[1] The heroic efforts of Manoury and Foch greatly contributed to the victory, but Manoury advanced too soon, and thus gave von Kluck time to strengthen his right and avoid envelopment. Count de Souza claims that Germany "lost the war on the Marne." This is too strong a statement, but the "Miracle of the Marne" undoubtedly wrecked all the strategical plans of their general staff and compelled them to form a new plan of campaign.

II. The Battle of the Aisne, September 13th–28th, 1914.

General French determined to cross the Aisne in pursuit of the Germans, who had destroyed all the bridges save one on a stretch of fifteen miles of deep, unfordable river, and had taken up a strong position on high ground "commanding every crossing and approach." On September 13th the Royal Engineers built nine bridges under heavy fire; the British crossed on that day, and the next dug themselves in and maintained their position on the north bank, in spite of the heavy artillery of the Germans, who were now reinforced by guns and men released by the fall of

[1] Conan Doyle.

Mauberge. [They repeatedly bombarded Rheims Cathedral, which was used as a hospital for German prisoners.]

Both armies were so strongly entrenched that frontal attacks were bound to fail. Each tried to outflank the other on the north, and "the race to the sea" began.

III. German Overtures to America.

Between the battle of the Marne and the sinking of the *Lusitania* four attempts were made by Germany to end the war by negotiation through the help of America. In September, **1914,** President Wilson regarded the war as a selfish struggle in which each party was at fault. Secretary Bryan was an ultra-Pacifist. Walter H. Page, American Ambassador in London, materially helped the cause of the Allies by the reports he sent to Washington. "Since Germany set out to rule the world and to conquer Great Britain, they say, 'We'll all die first.' That's all there is to it. And they will all die unless they can so fix things that this war cannot be repeated. Lady K., as kindly an old lady as ever lived, said to me, 'A great honour has come to us. Our son has been killed in battle, fighting for the safety of England.'"

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THE RACE TO THE SEA

The Germans were anxious to secure the Belgian coast and the Channel ports; the Allies extended northward to prevent this and to link up with the Belgians at Antwerp. The attempt of each opponent to outflank the other led to the establishment of the northern portion of the Western Front on the line Soissons–Arras–La Bassée–Ypres–Yser. This was the work of the French, British, and Belgians.

I. **The Allied Offensive, October 3rd–19th.**

A. The French established themselves on the north bank of the Aisne in front of Soissons, across the Somme east of Amiens, on the Scarpe slightly to the east of Arras, where the Germans made a strong but unsuccessful attempt to drive the Tenth French Army from its position.

B. The British.

October 3rd. The British force of 100,000 men was successfully withdrawn at night from within reach of the Germans on the Aisne to more northerly positions which would enable it better to protect the Channel ports and to shorten its line of communications. The British recrossed the Aisne, proceeded north-west, detrained at Abbeville for La Bassée, and St. Omer for Ypres, and swung due east in the hope of outflanking the Germans by a pivoting movement based on Lille and La Bassée or, failing this, on Menin. A further advance to the north-east was intended to secure Bruges, and a British force was landed at Ostend and Zeebrugge to secure the line of the Scheldt. The rapidity with which the Germans manœuvred prevented them from being outflanked, and their greatly superior forces checked the attempt on Bruges. The result of these two unsuccessful schemes was the formation of the Ypres salient.

The net result was that the Allies were compelled to relinquish the offensive and to adopt defensive tactics. By October 19th the British had dug themselves in on the north of the Tenth French Army, on a line of about twenty-five miles extending from the La Bassée canal to Ypres. These operations involved continuous fighting: "every hamlet, hedgerow, and stream meant a separate skirmish." There still remained a gap between the British left and the North Sea coast.

II. **The Fall of Antwerp.**

The Belgian Army retired to Antwerp on the fall of Brussels, August 20th. The Germans captured the outer forts of the city by October 2nd, and in the beginning of October started bombarding the town. A British naval division, consisting largely of

young untrained sailors, accompanied by Winston Churchill, reached Antwerp on October 5th and half the force was lost, many who inadvertently crossed the border being interned in Holland. The Germans entered Antwerp October 10th ; but the weary Belgian army got safely away and, supported by French marines, took up their position on the Yser. The loss of Antwerp made it impossible for the British to secure the line of the Scheldt.

III. The German Offensive, October 20th–November 14th, 1914.

The Germans were now faced by the Allied line extending for eighty miles from Albert to Nieuport. Their immediate object was to secure the Channel ports and thus facilitate the invasion of England, check communication between England and the Continent, and add to the difficulties of the British Fleet. The possible lines of attack were—

(i) Through Nieuport and along the Belgian coast to Dunkirk ; if successful, this would drive back the northern flank of the Allies to high ground on the line Arras–Cape Grisnez.

(ii) Through La Bassée or Arras or Ypres to Calais ; if successful, this would not only secure the Channel ports, but cut the Allied line in two.

If the Germans had concentrated their forces on one point in the Allied line, they would probably have broken through. Their failure was largely due to their mistake in attacking four points simultaneously.

A. The Battle of the Yser, October 20th–31st, 1914.

The Belgians on the Yser were furiously attacked by far superior German forces fully equipped with heavy artillery. They held the line most gallantly and were greatly helped by British shallow-draught monitors equipped with heavy guns which from the sea " enfiladed the German right, swept the country for some six miles inland," and saved Nieuport. On October 26th the Belgians were thinking of retiring to Dunkirk, owing to strenuous German attacks further south, but on Foch's suggestion they inundated the country, saved their line, and drowned many Germans. The battle of the Yser not only saved the Channel ports, but prevented the British left from being outflanked.

B. The battles for Calais.

(1) La Bassée, October 22nd–November 2nd, **1914.**

As a result of this battle the British line was driven back about two and a half miles from the line Givenchy–Aubers to the line Festubert–Neuve Chappelle.

(2) Arras, October 20th–26th, **1914.**

Although the German operations were facilitated by the occupation of the important railway centre of Lens, the French, under General Maud'huy, not only held their line and saved Arras, but drove the Germans out of their front trenches.

(3) Ypres, October 21st–November 11th, **1914.**

The British line ran in front of Langemarck, through Zonnebeck, Gheluvelt, where it cut the Ypres-Menin road, Zandevorde, Houthem, Armentières, forming a salient which extended about seven miles due east of Ypres, and which enabled the British to enfilade German attacks to the north and south. North of the British, French troops held the forest of Houthulst, on the Bruges road.

(*a*) The fighting.

(1) The north of the salient.

October 21st. A British and French offensive towards Poelcapelle failed. The French fell back on the Yser canal, the British on the line Langemarck and Zonnebeck. Next day the Germans dented the line at Pilkem, between Langemarck and Bixschoote, but a strong German attack on Langemarck on October 23rd failed, partly owing to the arrival of French reinforcements. By November 15th the Zouaves had repulsed a strong attack on Bixschoote and saved the canal.

(2) The centre.

October 29th–30th. The Germans gained Zandvoorde and the British fell back on Klein Zillebeke. October 31st, with the help of a French corps under Maissy, the British held Klein Zillebeke against a furious German attack; the British recaptured Gheluvelt, but on November 11th it was captured by the Prussian

Guards, who broke the Allied line, but failed to follow up their advantage.

(3) The south.

November 1st. The Germans took Hollebeke, Messines, and Wytschaete.

The Meerut and Lahore divisions fought gallantly in this sector. As a result of the battle the Allied forces were withdrawn to the line Bixschoote–Langemarck–Graefenstafel–Broodseinde–Veldhoek–Wytschaete–Armentières.

(*b*) General.

The Germans greatly outnumbered the British, the proportion at one period at one point being five to one. About October 31st a single division held a line of eight miles against three German Army Corps, and on November 11th the British line near Gheluvelt was so thin that officers' servants, cooks, and camp followers were brought in to resist the Prussian Guard.

The losses were heavy. The Germans, who attacked in close formation, lost at least 150,000, the British 50,000, five times their losses at Waterloo ; the 22nd Brigade lost 97 per cent of its officers and 80 per cent of its men.

On October 31st, the crisis of the battle, "there was scarcely a point [in the line] which was not strained to the verge of cracking." But the Allied line held, and the Kaiser did not get the triumphant entry into Ypres for which he was waiting behind the fighting line.

The success of Maud'huy at Arras was of great importance. If the Germans had broken through at Arras they would have cut off the British Army and driven it back by weight of numbers.

IV. The Position in November, 1914.

The Germans had failed to secure the speedy victory they had expected. But they held much of Belgium, of the iron-field of Lorraine, and of the coal-fields of Northern France, and from these sources secured material which enabled them to continue the war. Partly owing to Hindenburg's urgent need of reinforcements on the Eastern front, the Germans were compelled to act

on the defensive on the Western, "and the inability of the Entente to defend the French and Belgian frontiers or to expel the invader prolonged the war for at least a couple of years."[1]

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NAVAL OPERATIONS TO THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND, MAY 1ST, 1916

The launch of the first Dreadnought, **1906,** showed that the Admiralty depended for their main strength upon heavily gunned ships, of enormous engine power and high speed. The super-Dreadnoughts, such as the *Queen Elizabeth* and *Royal Sovereign*, were equipped with 15-inch guns. The Germans were two years behind us in naval construction, and at the outbreak of war we had seventy-three battleships and battle-cruisers to Germany's forty-six, and greater superiority in lighter war vessels.

I. The North Sea.

A. A bloodless victory, August 4th, **1914.**

In view of the political crisis the fleet, after review by the King in July, remained mobilised at Portland, and on the outbreak of war the battleships made for Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, thus securing the northern entrance of the North Sea ; other ships took their stations in the Firth of Forth and Thames, while submarines and destroyers guarded the Straits of Dover, thus securing the southern end of the North Sea. The German Grand Fleet was confined between Scapa Flow and Dover ; German cruisers were prevented from sailing out to prey on our commerce, although damage was done by isolated raiders ; the

[1] *A Short History of the Great War*, Prof. Pollard, page 91.

German Colonies were soon taken, and all German merchant ships were captured or driven into neutral harbours. The German Fleet very properly retired to their naval bases to wait until, by raids, mines, and submarines, they had so reduced the British Fleet that it could be attacked with some chance of success. The North Sea was no longer the German Ocean, and a blockade was established which, in time, seriously affected Germany. But the proximity of the German ports, where the German Fleet found shelter after the Battle of Jutland, rendered it impossible for our fleet to " fight to the finish," and Heligoland, unwisely ceded to Germany in 1890, formed an advanced naval base of great value.

B. The Battle of Heligoland Bight, August 28th, **1914.**

A British submarine flotilla enticed German destroyers and two cruisers from Heligoland ; these were met by British ships of similar class. German reinforcements imperilled the safety of the British cruisers, which gallantly continued an unequal fight in order to hold the Germans until Beatty's battle-cruisers appeared. On the arrival of the latter, which had escaped submarines owing to their great speed, the Germans were defeated and lost three cruisers and one destroyer.

The battle was a conspicuous success for British strategy and tactics, and demonstrated the superiority of the British Fleet. The Germans therefore determined to avoid actions between ships and to rely more on submarines, mines, and " tip and run " raids.

September 22nd. The cruisers *Cressy*, *Hogue*, and *Aboukir* sunk by a German submarine.

October 27th. The super-Dreadnought *Audacious* sunk by a mine off the north of Ireland.

December 16th. A squadron of German battle-cruisers bombarded Whitby and Scarborough, which were unfortified, and Hartlepool (fortified), in the last of which 119 were killed and 300 wounded. Owing to a fog they just escaped the British battleships which had come to intercept them.

January 1st, **1915.** The battleship *Formidable* sunk by a submarine off Devonshire.

C. The Battle of the Dogger Bank, January 24th, **1915.**

A German squadron of four battle-cruisers, six cruisers, and a number of destroyers sailed from Wilhelmshaven, possibly to attack the Tyne. They were encountered off the Dogger Bank by Beatty, commanding five battle-cruisers superior in speed and weight of guns, and fled towards Heligoland, hoping to lure the British into the local minefield. One German battle-cruiser, the *Blücher*, was sunk and two were severely damaged, but owing to confusion caused by injury to Beatty's flagship, the *Lion*, and to the incorrect belief of his second in command that we were near the German minefield, the pursuit was stopped and three German battle-cruisers escaped certain destruction.

II. **Operations in the Pacific.**

The Japanese seized Kiaochow, the base of the German Pacific Squadron, and the danger from Japan drove Admiral von Spee and his fleet of two armoured and three light cruisers from Chinese waters into the South Pacific. Admiral Cradock, commanding a fleet equal in number, but, except the cruiser *Glasgow*, old and slow, was protecting British commerce off the west coast of South America.

A. The Battle of Coronel, November 1st, **1914.**

Von Spee's squadron of five ships met Cradock, in command of the armoured cruisers *Good Hope* and *Monmouth*, both twelve years old, the new light cruiser *Glasgow*, " the one efficient ship of the whole squadron," and the armed liner *Otranto*. In fifty-five minutes the *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* were sunk and Cradock and all his men (1600) were lost ; the Germans made no attempt to save our men. The German casualties were three men wounded. The *Glasgow* and *Otranto* succeeded in escaping. The result was a foregone conclusion, for, with the exception of two 9.2 guns on the *Good Hope*, Cradock had none larger than 6-inch ; while the Germans had sixteen 8.2 guns, their ships were far more speedy, and as the British fought against the background of the setting sun they made excellent targets.

B. The Battle of the Falkland Isles, December 8th, **1914.**

The battle-cruisers *Invincible* and *Inflexible* were sent with

absolute secrecy from Devonport on November 12th. They were joined by seven other cruisers, including the *Glasgow*, and reached Port Stanley in the Falkland Isles, where they were concealed from view. The next day von Spee was lured to the spot by a wireless message which he was meant to intercept, and came expecting to find only one British cruiser. On finding Admiral Sturdee's superiority he fled. Sturdee, having used his greater speed to secure a favourable position, opened fire with his 12-inch guns at ten miles. The engagement lasted about three and a half hours; four out of the five German ships were sunk, the two German transports were destroyed—only the *Dresden* escaped. We lost fourteen men killed and sixteen wounded. We saved 108 Germans, and should have saved more but for the icy cold water which benumbed the swimmers. Thus the only German squadron in foreign waters was destroyed.

C. Raiders.

(1) The German cruiser *Emden* escaped from Kiaochau disguised as a British cruiser, destroyed 70,000 tons of shipping in the Indian Ocean in seven weeks, and was destroyed by the Australian cruiser *Sydney* at Cocos Island on November 9th, **1914.**

(2) Of other raiders, the *Koenigsberg* was destroyed about the same time in the Rufigi River in East Africa, and the *Dresden* was driven into Juan Fernandez by the *Glasgow* and *Kent*, March 14th, **1915,** and blown up by her own crew.

III. **The Battle of Jutland, May 31st, 1916.**

On May 31st the British Fleet was sweeping the North Sea in two divisions. First came Beatty, commanding a battle-cruiser fleet strengthened by four battleships, under Rear-Admiral Evan-Thomas, who was five miles to the rear. Admiral Jellicoe, with the rest of the battleships and a number of battle-cruisers, was to the north of Beatty. The German Fleet had left Wilhelmshaven also in two divisions, five battle-cruisers under Admiral von Hipper leading the way, followed at some distance by the battleships under Admiral von Scheer. The enemy's battle-cruisers were sighted by the British at 2.25 p.m. The battle may be divided into four parts.

A. 3.48 p.m. to 4.42 p.m. Beatty in pursuit.

Although he suspected that the German battle-cruisers were being followed by their battleships, Beatty determined to engage them closely and thus give time for Jellicoe's battleships to come up, especially as Evan-Thomas's four battleships were approaching rapidly. At 3.48 p.m. he opened at 18,500 yards on von Hipper, who was sailing S.S.E. to join von Scheer. Beatty took a parallel course to the west, the Germans thus being between their own base and the British ships. At 4.8 p.m. Evan-Thomas came into action with his 15-inch guns. At first the German gunfire was excellent, and the battle-cruisers *Indefatigable* and *Queen Mary* blew up. But their gunfire deteriorated, while ours improved considerably, in spite of the bad light, and it seemed that Beatty was on the eve of a great victory.

B. 4.42 p.m. to 6.50. Beatty in retreat.

On the appearance of the main portion of the German Fleet, including sixteen battleships, Beatty retired N.N.W., his light cruisers and destroyers, which had rendered most valuable service, in the van, Evan-Thomas's battleships forming a rear-guard. His object was to lead the Germans towards Jellicoe, and his superior speed enabled him to set the pace and to remain at a distance which enabled him to keep touch with the enemy without undue exposure to gunfire. At 5.33 p.m., relying upon the speedy arrival of Jellicoe and wishing to envelop the Germans, Beatty, with great daring, turned N.N.E. and then due E. across the front of the enemy line. At 6.20 three battle-cruisers, under Admiral Hood, the van of Jellicoe's fleet, came into action, lengthening Beatty's line and completing the envelopment by the head of the German line. The *Invincible* was blown up at 6.33 p.m., and Hood went down with his flagship. Beatty was now moving S.E. on a course between von Scheer and the coast.

C. 6.50 to 8.20 p.m. The Germans in flight.

By 6.50 p.m. Jellicoe's battleships had taken up their stations having deployed with great skill. "The deployment is complete, the whole Grand Fleet has concentrated, the enemy is surrounded

on three sides, we are faster than he is, and more than twice as powerful; if the light will hold, his end has come."[1] "From the reports of other ships and my own observation it was clear that the enemy suffered considerable damage, battle-cruisers and battleships alike. The head of their line was crumpled up, leaving battleships as targets for the majority of our battle-cruisers."[2] Von Scheer properly drew off his fleet in a south-westerly direction, having the British between him and his base; his battle-cruisers and torpedoes covered his retreat with great bravery. The German gunfire was now so poor that on Jellicoe's fleet only three men were wounded. There was a thick fog, night was falling, and the British gunners were sadly hampered by low visibility. The German Fleet escaped only because our gunners could not see them.

During the night only our light cruisers and destroyers came into action, but contact was gradually lost and the German Fleet reached Wilhelmshaven safely. The British Fleet returned to its base early on Friday, June 2nd.

D. General.

(1) One hundred and forty-five British ships and one hundred and ten German took part in the battle. We lost three battle-cruisers, three armoured cruisers, eight destroyers, a total of 113,300 tons. The Germans lost at least three battleships, one battle and five light cruisers, and seven smaller craft, a total of 119,200 tons.

The British had more than twice the weight of broadside the Germans had. But the German ships were better armoured than the British, and a delaying fuse, which made their shells explode inside our ships and not at the point of contact, proved most effective. The British shells generally burst on the outside of the German armour, and this fact explains the escape of many of the German ships. After Jutland the provision of thicker armour plating for battle-cruisers and delaying fuses for shells remedied the chief defects revealed by the Battle of Jutland.

(2) Specially noteworthy were Beatty's bold tactics at the end

[1] Copplestone, *The Secret of the Navy*, page 276.
[2] Beatty's despatch.

of the afternoon, the skill with which Jellicoe deployed his fleet, the successful strategy which interposed the British Fleet between the Germans and their bases, the accuracy of our gunfire in the later stages of the battle, "the amazing fighting quality of the British sailors," the excellent work of our engineers, the very bad luck of the fog, the low visibility which robbed us of complete victory, and the great skill with which von Scheer got his defeated fleet into harbour.

(3) The Battle of Jutland was a great strategical and tactical victory for the British Fleet. It greatly diminished the danger of an invasion of Britain, confirmed our command of the North Sea, saved the North Russian fleet from grave peril, and broke the *morale* of the German Fleet. But the lucky escape of the German Fleet, which took care not to risk a battle again, enabled them to secure their bases, from which they carried on a submarine campaign which nearly proved successful in **1917.**

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THE CONQUEST OF THE GERMAN COLONIES

I. Naval Successes in 1914.

The naval supremacy of the Allies ensured the speedy subjugation of those German Colonies which could be conquered from the sea, and in a few months Germany lost all her possessions in the Pacific. The New Zealanders took Samoa on August 28th, the Australians New Guinea in September, the Japanese Kiaochou on November 10th.

II. West Africa.

A. Togoland.

August 27th, **1914.** Togoland, attacked by British forces from the Gold Coast on the west and French forces from Dahomey on the east, capitulated to the Allies.

B. The Cameroons.

August 25th–31st. Failure of three British attempts to invade the Cameroons from Nigeria.

September 27th. Surrender of Duala the chief port to British warships, who secured the mastery of the coast.

During the winter a combined attack was made by British, French, and Belgian troops. Yaunde, the German capital, was taken on January 1st, **1916,** and the conquest of the country was completed on February 18th, **1916.**

III. German South-West Africa.

German S.W. Africa had a coastline of about 800 miles, it was bounded on the east by Bechuanaland, on the south by Cape Colony, and thus seemed open to attack from land and sea. But its capital, Windhoek, lay 150 miles inland; the British territory to the south consisted of waterless plains lying to the east of the Kalahari desert; the country itself was very difficult. The German forces included, possibly, 10,000 white men well equipped with artillery and machine guns. German S.W. Africa would present serious difficulties for an attacking force. The Germans relied, too, on the help of the Dutch of the Orange River Colony, who were known to be hostile towards the Government and who had twelve years before fought in the South African War against Great Britain. They knew, too, that there was grave Labour trouble on the Rand.

A. The Rising in South Africa.

(1) Rebellion soon broke out. Col. Maritz, a Dutchman who had been helping the Germans in their difficulties with natives, made a raid into Cape Colony at the head of a mixed force of British rebels and German troops. His attempt (October 25th)

speedily failed, and the strong resentment aroused by his action in trying to conquer British territory with Germans led many waverers to support the Union. General Botha, the Prime Minister, ably supported by General Smuts, proclaimed martial law, called for volunteers and soon had an army of 30,000 men, including many Rand workmen who, like the Labour Party in England, sadly disappointed the expectations of the Germans.

(2) At the end of October General De Wet was stirring up rebellion in the Orange River Colony and General Beyers in the Transvaal. Botha routed Beyers at Rustenburg (October 27th) and De Wet near Winburg (November 11th). For three weeks the rebel leaders fled from place to place pursued by Botha's troops in motor-cars. De Wet was captured on December 1st and Beyers drowned in the Vaal on December 8th.

The rebellion having been crushed Botha started his campaign against German S.W. Africa.

B. The Conquest of German S.W. Africa.

Botha's objective was Windhoek, which was situated on a more or less semicircular railway with its termini at the ports of Swakopmund and Luderitz Bay. The German ports were easily secured and Botha led a force by the railway from Swakopmund to attack Windhoek from the north. In the south three forces, one from Luderitz Bay, one coming north from Cape Colony across the Orange River, one advancing west from Bechuanaland, were to join at Keetmanshoop, about 275 miles south of Windhoek, and attack the town from the south. The campaign was brilliantly successful, although transport, especially of water, was difficult; the heat was intense; heavy and continuous sandstorms added greatly to the discomfort of the troops.

May 12th. Windhoek capitulated, and two months later the German Governor, who had fled to Grootfontein in the north, surrendered.

"Three hundred thousand square miles of territory had been conquered at a less cost than that of a minor action in the European theatre."[1] Botha had rendered magnificent service to the British Empire.

[1] Buchan.

IV. German East Africa.

A. The defence of British East Africa.

German East Africa, by far the richest of the German colonies, was about 800 miles long and 600 broad, with a coastline of 500 miles. It had a considerable force of 2000 white and 14,000 native troops, well equipped with machine guns and for a time British East Africa, which was practically undefended, was in serious danger. But small British forces, consisting largely of volunteers, were hastily organised and maintained their frontier successfully until the arrival of Indian troops early in September relieved the situation.

August 13th, **1914.** A British cruiser bombarded Dar-es-Salaam, the chief German port and the terminus of the railway to Lake Tanganyika.

B. The British Attack.

(1) The British successfully blockaded the coast, but suffered two serious defeats at Tanga (November 4th, **1914**) and Jassin (January 18th, **1915**) in the N.E. corner of the German colony; these led to the withdrawal of British troops into their own territory.

(2) Operations consisted mainly of frontier skirmishes, and included the repulse of a German raiding party near Lake Victoria Nyanza in March, successful operations on Lake Nyassa where the German town of Sphinxhaven was bombarded and a large amount of munitions captured. On July 11th, **1915,**[1] the German cruiser *Koenigsberg* was destroyed in the Rufigi River.

(3) But General von Lettow-Vorbeck used his forces skilfully, and took advantage of the size and difficulties of the country. General Smuts, who assumed the command in February, **1916,** organised a series of drives southward from the Mombasa railway which kept von Lettow continually on the move and entailed many small, but fiercely contested, engagements. British successes included the capture of Tanga (July 9th), Dodoma (July 30th), Kilossa (August 22nd). The capture of Dar-es-

[1] Page 1146.

Salaam (September 3rd, **1916**) and the whole of the coast strengthened the British, but von Lettow succeeded in evading capture, and it was not till November 26th, **1917,** that he was driven out of German East Africa. He went into Portuguese territory and later into Northern Rhodesia and did not surrender until the armistice of November, **1918.**

C. General.

The campaign was highly creditable to both sides. In spite of the difficulties of the mountainous country; the thick jungle; the excessive heat and heavy rains; the danger from lions, rhinos, snakes, and crocodiles; the loss of transport animals owing to the tse-tse fly; the malarial swamps of the lower ground, movements were very rapid. Smuts' great drive in which van Deventer played a conspicuous part, was a remarkable performance, so was von Lettow's escape.

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THE CAMPAIGN ON THE WESTERN FRONT

November, **1914**–July 30th, **1915.**

General French had a very difficult task. He was very inadequately equipped with artillery, especially howitzers; the line had to be held to save the Channel ports, but, although adequate reinforcements could not be sent, offensive operations were necessary to keep up the spirits of our troops and to encourage the French, who naturally wished to deliver their country from her invaders.

I. Trench Warfare.

A. During the winter both sides strengthened their position by an elaborate system of deep trenches which replaced the shallow trenches which had been used in earlier operations. The former consisted of advanced trenches about five feet deep and only two broad, joined by zigzag communication trenches to the occupation trenches containing dugouts, and connected with reserve trenches in the rear. Elaborate wire entanglements protected the front trenches. Fighting was incessant; heavy artillery with a high trajectory was the most effective weapon for bombarding trenches, while bombs and hand grenades were largely used at short range, and in some places hostile trenches were only about sixty yards from each other.

B. The weather was bad, the trenches especially along the Ypres Canal were waterlogged, the mud was so deep that duckboards afforded the only means of passage, and our troops, including the Indian contingents, often fought in bitter cold, up to their waists in icy water. They suffered much from frostbite, trench feet, and vermin, but the medical service was most efficient and inoculation minimised the effect of typhoid; the efforts of the Quartermaster-General's staff ensured the food supply.[1]

C. Continuous fighting went on during the winter and the advantage lay with the Allies who held their position, gained time for the speedy training of British reinforcements and the manufacture of guns and ammunition, and wore down the Germans by successful attrition which "Papa" Joffre called "nibbling"[2] the enemy. The general result was that the Germans gained some ground in the Ypres salient and the British near La Bassée.

D. In the rest of the line the Germans made a considerable advance, though at heavy cost, at Soissons (January 8th–14th), the French advanced in Alsace in January and in Champagne in March.

[1] See *From Private to Field Marshal*, Robertson (Constable), chap. XIII., for details of general arrangements.

[2] "Je les grignotte."

II. Neuve Chapelle, March 10th–12th, 1915.

A. By March the British forces in Flanders numbered half a million men, twice as many as in the South African War, and our light and heavy artillery had been greatly strengthened. An attack was made at Neuve Chapelle in the hope of breaking the German line and taking the ridges that commanded Lille, a most important railway centre in which the communications of the whole German line met.

B. New Tactics.

New tactics were employed. Three hundred guns were secretly concentrated behind the British lines and suddenly fired against the German position which was isolated by simultaneous attacks to the north and south. The bombardment lasted thirty-five minutes, "and in this action there was more use of artillery than in a year and a half of the South African War."[1] The range was lengthened, the infantry in the centre and right advanced easily, as the wire had been cut by the artillery fire, and took the German trenches, while a barrage in front prevented the Germans from making a counter-attack. But on the left the attack was held up with great loss as the wire and trenches were little damaged. Communications were difficult as all telephone wires had been cut. Owing to weak staff work proper use was not made of our reserves. A mist greatly hampered the artillery on March 11th and 12th; the enemy recovered from his surprise and offered effective resistance, although greatly hampered by British airmen.

C. Result.

This battle advanced the British line a mile, greatly inspired our men and discouraged the Germans and afforded useful guidance for future battles. But we did not secure Lille and our losses, mainly on the left, amounted to 13,000, and though the Germans lost at least 20,000 the general result was not proportionate to the cost.

[1] Buchan.

D. St. Eloi, March 14th–15th.

The Germans delivered a counter-attack at St. Eloi about fifteen miles north of Neuve Chapelle. A preliminary bombardment was followed by the explosion of two mines which blew up a mound forming part of the British front. The Germans captured our front trenches. Most of the lost ground was recovered, but the Germans retained some. Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry took part in this engagement, the first time British-born troops from overseas fought on the Western front.

III. **The Second Battle of Ypres, April 22nd–May 13th, 1915.**

On April 17th Hill 60, a railway dump about forty feet high commanding the German position near Hollebeke, was blown up by seven mines and rushed by British infantry, who held it in spite of furious German attacks and heavy bombardment. The Second Battle of Ypres was partly a development of the German counter-attack, partly an attempt to anticipate an Allied thrust at Lille.

A. The Northern Sector.

The Belgians held the Yser canal; on their right were French Colonial troops, Zouaves; the right of the French, from near Langemarck to the north of Zonnebeke, was held by Canadians.

(1) April 22nd. Gas attack on the Zouaves, who fled in terror leaving a gap in the line four or five miles in length to the west of Langemarck. Heroic resistance of the Canadians; in spite of the gas they kept the line unbroken, although their left was bent back. The Germans gained about two miles of ground, broke the Allied line, but wasted time consolidating their positions and thus enabled "Geddes's Detachment," a composite body hastily assembled, to fill the gap on April 23rd.

April 24th. Another gas attack led to a withdrawal of the line south of St. Julien, but Grafenstafel, now the corner position, was held.

April 25th. Unsuccessful British attempt to recapture St. Julien.

(2) May 2nd. Heavy gas attack on the Belgians and on the British at Fortuin. The line was held, but on May 3rd it was withdrawn to Frezenberg; evacuation of the corner Fortuin–Grafenstafel–Zonnebeke.

B. The Centre.

May 8th. Successful German attack on the centre, the line withdrawn from Frezenberg to Verlorenhoek. The line at this point was held by dismounted cavalry from May 12th. For ten days there was a lull in the fighting, but on May 24th, owing to a gas attack of exceptional intensity, the line was withdrawn for a short distance on the north and east.

C. The South.

The southern section of the salient was held, although the Germans recaptured Hill 60 on May 5th.

The pressure on the salient was relieved owing to Allied attacks on Lens and Festubert.

D. General.

The Allied line was now Boesinge-Verlorenhoek-Bellewaarde-Hooge, behind Hill 60. The Germans had gained about two miles in the north and three in the centre and Hill 60 in the extreme south. We had probably suffered more than they from attrition, but Ypres was saved and the line maintained.

(1) The final result of the two battles of Ypres was that the Germans "with an enormous preponderance of men in the first and of guns in the second, had expended several hundred thousand of the men with absolutely no military advantage whatever,"[1] except the contraction of the Ypres salient. The second battle showed that until the British artillery was greatly strengthened the British soldier, though individually superior to the German, could barely hold the line. Consequent growing demand for munitions at home.

(2) The Germans had accepted the Hague Convention which prohibited the use of poison gas in war; they attempted to

[1] Doyle.

excuse the use of gas by the falsehood that the British had already used it. While they never showed any shame for their dishonourable action in employing a weapon they had previously repudiated they later felt great regret for their folly in introducing the use of chlorine gas into a country where the wind was often westerly. The gas was pumped from cylinders or fired in shells of thin metal filled with compressed gas, appeared in the form of a greenish-yellow vapour varying in height from seven feet to forty (on May 24), and was effective for about a thousand yards. Hastily devised respirators were supplied to our troops, and these, though far inferior to later models, diminished the danger from gas.

The torpedoing of the *Lusitania* on May 7th (1100 drowned, including many women and children) and the use of poison gas at Ypres proved that the world would not be safe until the power of Germany was broken, and served an important military purpose by greatly stiffening the resistance of the Allies.

IV. The Allied Offensive.

By May the Allies outnumbered the Germans on the Western front, and offensive operations were arranged in the hope that the tactics employed at Neuve Chapelle would be more successful elsewhere, and to relieve the heavy pressure on the Russians.[1]

A. The French.

The French made some progress in the Vosges, gained a great success at Les Eparges in the Woevre on April 9th, and by the end of May had gained a great victory in Artois where, largely owing to their efficient artillery, they had captured the outer defences of Lens, but failed to take the Vimy Ridge.

B. The British at Festubert, May 9th–May 25th.

(1) The British attack at Festubert was made in conjunction with the French advance towards Lens. Its ultimate object was to secure the Aubers Ridge in front of Richebourg, which commanded Lille and La Bassée.

[1] Page 1182.

(2) May 9th. Failure of the first attack near Festubert, partly owing to the inability of our artillery to break down the German defence, partly owing to the number and efficiency of the German machine guns.

(3) May 15th. Successful attack at Richebourg, the German front driven back about two miles. Further advance was checked by new tactics of the Germans who, realising their inferiority in numbers, had strengthened their position by a number of small concrete forts armed with machine guns. These " pill-boxes " proved most difficult for the infantry to take and offered a small target to the artillery. Even when the German line was broken the pill-boxes prevented further advance by enfilading the attacking forces.

(4) Munitions.

(*a*) The object of the attack was not gained and the results were not commensurate with the heavy cost. One regiment lost in twenty-four hours 29 officers and 1090 men out of 30 officers and 1335 men. The failure was largely due to the German heavy guns, which outnumbered the British. We had only 71 guns of larger calibre than five inch ; the Germans fired six shells to our one, and our reserve of shells on May 16th was only about four per gun instead of 150, and even this supply was depleted because Sir John French was ordered to send shells to the Dardanelles.[1] Our artillery therefore could not completely demolish the enemy's trenches, cut their barbed wire or protect our advancing troops by an effective barrage.

(*b*) May 12th. Col. Repington sent a telegram to *The Times* asserting " that the want of an unlimited supply of high-explosive shells was a fatal bar to our success."[2]

V. The Fighting in June and July, 1915.

The fighting went on without ceasing, especially in the Ypres salient, though without much permanent result. We maintained our line, but failed to advance, and the operations generally

[1] Page 1176.
[2] *The First World War*, Repington, Vol. I, page 36 (Constable & Co.).

favoured the Germans, who attained their object of defending their line. We sometimes took German trenches as at Givenchy (June 3rd) and Hooge (June 16th), but rarely succeeded in holding them owing to the high-explosive shells and machine guns with which the enemy was amply provided.

July 30th the Germans first used liquid fire at Hooge.

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Nelson's History of the War, by Buchan, chaps. XLV., L., LII.

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THE EASTERN FRONT IN 1914

I. Russia.

A. The Invasion of East Prussia, August–October, **1914.**

Two Russian armies invaded East Prussia. The army of the Niemen, under Rennenkampf, defeated the Germans at Gumbinnen (August 20th) and by August 25th reached the strongly fortified fortress of Koenigsberg. The army of the Narev, under Samsonov, advanced through the difficult country of the Masurian lakes, won the Battle of Frankenau, but was utterly routed at Tannenberg, August 26th–31st, by von Hindenburg. The Russians retreated, von Hindenburg pursued Rennenkampf to the Niemen, but failed to cross the river. Was compelled to retreat and was heavily defeated at Augustovo, October 1st–9th.

The unsuccessful invasion of East Prussia had important effects. Three divisions were sent from Belgium to help von Hindenburg, and the pressure on the British retreating from Mons was somewhat lightened in consequence ; von Hindenburg's march to the Niemen prevented him from helping the Austrians, who were hard pressed by the Russians.

B. The first German attack on Warsaw, October 15th–November 3rd.

Von Hindenburg determined to attack Warsaw, hoping to secure a strong base for a future advance, to command the Vistula and the Polish railways of which Warsaw was the centre, and to turn the flank of the Russians operating against Austria. The Russians, who had fallen back to the Vistula, aided by Japanese gunners, checked the German centre near Warsaw, and by successful flanking attacks from north and south compelled von Hindenburg to retreat with enormous loss. As he retired he devastated Southern Poland.

C. The second German attack on Warsaw, December 7th–December 24th.

Von Hindenburg made his second attack from his base at Thorn. The Russians again retreated, the Germans entered Lodz without resistance, but, although they got within thirty-five miles of Warsaw, they failed to carry the strong positions the Russians had made on the Rivers Bzura and Rawka.

The Russian success was due to their rapid mobilisation and to the skill of the Grand Duke Nicholas, who did not hesitate to abandon important towns and to retreat until he found suitable defensive positions. The Germans lost so heavily that reinforcements were sent from the Western front, and the pressure on the Allied line was somewhat lightened.

The invasion of East Prussia and the defence of Warsaw were the work of the northern armies of Russia. The southern invaded Austria.

D. The Russian invasion of Austria.

(1) Galicia.

At the end of August the Russians invaded Galicia, a Slav country and very rich in petrol. They captured Lemberg September 3rd, routed the Austrians at Rava Russka September 10th, and encouraged by their rapid success pushed westward, masked Przemysl, and threatened Cracow in Austrian Poland, which commanded the roads to both Berlin and Vienna and was the gateway to the rich industrial German province of Silesia.

(2) Hungary.

By the end of September some Cossack detachments had seized the Dukla Pass in the Carpathians and entered Hungary.

(3) Russian Retreat.

By December 8th the Russians were within about ten miles of Cracow, but dangerous pressure from the north and the capture of the Dukla Pass by the Austrians, who thus threatened the Russian left, compelled the Russians to withdraw towards the end of December and relieve Cracow.

II. **Serbia.**

The Austrians wished to conquer Serbia and to establish overland communications with Turkey, which joined Germany, October 30th, 1914.

A. The first Austrian invasion. August, **1914.**

The Serbians defeated the Austrians at Shabatz, August 17th, and Jadar, August 18th, and compelled them to evacuate Serbia.

B. The second Austrian invasion.

(1) September 8th–17th. The Austrians advanced along the Drina and, in spite of strong opposition and heavy losses, established themselves near Rozhan, on the road to Valjevo, which they entered on November 10th. But they made the fatal mistake of waiting a fortnight before they advanced further, and thus gave the Serbians time to reorganise their forces.

(2) The Serbians, under the Crown Prince, fell back to ridges in the centre of the country, and were faced by the Austrians resting on Valjevo and threatened by a flanking attack from Rozhan.

December 4th–6th. The Austrians were utterly routed in the battle of the Serbian ridges and driven out of Serbia. Belgrade was recaptured December 15th.

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Nelson's History of the War, chaps. XIII., XIV., XXXV., XLII., XLIII., XLIV.

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THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

September 28th–October 13th, **1915.**

By September, **1915,** the efforts of the Ministry of Munitions had enormously increased our supply of guns and shells, and the French had been equally successful. We had as much artillery and ammunition as the Germans. The Allies had more men. Sir Wm. Robertson "thinks that the German reserves are now temporarily exhausted on the Western front,"[1] and success in this area would have helped Russia by the withdrawal of reinforcements from the Eastern front. It was decided to make a strong attack on the German lines in Champagne and Artois, but the operation was difficult, as the enemy had so strengthened his position and was so well equipped with machine guns and bombs that his lines had become a fortress and they could be penetrated only by a frontal attack. The strength of the German position made up for their inferiority in man power.

The operations included attacks by the French in Champagne and at Souchez and Vimy in Artois, by the British at Loos, to the north of Vimy. Containing actions were arranged at Hooge in the Ypres salient, near Armentières, and near Neuve Chapelle.

The main operation was that in Champagne, and "from La Bassée to Arras and all along the Champagne front hell was loosed from thousands of pieces."

I. The French Attack.

A. Champagne.

September 25th 29th. The French advanced on a front of about eighteen miles to a maximum depth of four, but failed to break through the German lines.

[1] Repington, *The First World War*, I, page 49.

B. Souchez–Vimy.

September 25th–29th. Souchez was taken and a position secured on Vimy plateau ; the latter was soon abandoned. This failure left the British right flank almost in the air.

II. The Battle of Loos.

A British army of two divisions under Haig attacked the line Loos–Hulluch Haisnes in the hope of driving the Germans back and securing the northern approaches to Lens, which was threatened on the south by the French at Souchez. One of the two divisions operated to the north, and the other to the south of the Hulluch–Vermelles road, which bisected at right angles the threatened German line. The superiority of British aircraft prevented the Germans from discovering the plan.

(1) September 25th. The German lines were heavily bombarded by nine hundred guns, which smashed their front trenches and cut much, unfortunately not enough, of their wire entanglements. For the first time the British strengthened their attack by the use of gas.

(2) On the extreme British left the advance was held up by uncut wire and the enemy's guns at Ouchy.

(3) The left centre lost many men owing to uncut wire ; passed over a slag tip, Fosse 8, and through the heavily fortified Hohenzollern redoubt ; reached, but could not hold, Haisnes, and took the quarries in front of Hulluch.

(4) The right advanced rapidly, the London Irish dribbling a football in front of them, captured Loos, and secured part of Hill 70 well beyond the town, but had to fall back owing to lack of reserves. If these had arrived in time the German last line would have been broken and Lille captured, but the initial advance had been more rapid than had been expected and arrangements had not been made accordingly.

(5) The position on Sunday 26th was precarious. Adequate reserves were not forthcoming and much of the British line was held by new soldiers in action for the first time, tired by forced

marches to the front and inadequately fed owing to the destruction of their transport.

(6) September 26th. The Germans compelled the British to fall back in front of Loos on the extreme right and along the Lens - Hulluch road.

(7) September 27th 31st. Strong German attacks. The British evacuated Fosse 8. The position saved by the Guards. The British line carried forward to the Lens Hulluch road in the centre and to the north-east of Loos.

(8) The result of the Battle of Loos was that our line advanced 4000 yards on a front of about 7000 and Loos was captured.

Operations continued for several days without material change in the position.

III. Criticism.

A. The French and British, although both failed to extend the advantage of the initial effort, made a distinct advance. In Champagne "a serious crisis arose which almost led to the withdrawal of the whole German Third Army on the Champagne front"; while in Artois only the arrival of reinforcements from the Russian front enabled the Germans to hold out.[1] Sir Wm. Robertson says: "I sometimes think [the Germans] might have suffered a real set-back had the large number of men and guns then in the Dardanelles been on the West front."[2]

B. The British lost 47,000 men in the first three days, and the success achieved was not proportionate to the cost. The Staff work seems to have been at fault, although the rapidity of the advance at Loos on September 25th upset their calculations.

C. The result of the battle caused great uneasiness in England, to which Philip Gibbs[3] gave strong expression. "The battles of Neuve Chapelle, Festubert, and Loos, in **1915,** cost us thousands of casualties and gave us no gain of any account; and both

[1] Falkenhayn and Ludendorff, quoted by Sir Wm. Robertson, *From Private to Field Marshal*, page 233.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 232. [3] *Realities of War* (Heinemann), page 36.

generalship and staff work were, in the opinion of most officers who know anything of those battles, ghastly." After Loos Sir Douglas Haig succeeded Sir John, now created Viscount French of Ypres, as Commander-in-Chief. French had done splendid work in times of great crisis. The retreat from Mons, the battles of the Marne and Aisne, the extension and maintenance of the British line in the autumn of **1914**, were some of the great services he had rendered to his country.

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. LXXV. LXXVII.
The British Campaign in Flanders, 1915, chaps. VII.–IX.
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MESOPOTAMIA

The attempt to extend German influence in the East was a serious menace to the British power in India. The realisation of the attempt necessitated the conquest of Mesopotamia, which afforded access to India—

(1) along the Tigris valley (by the Berlin–Bagdad railway) and the Persian Gulf;
(2) overland by the road from Bagdad through Ispahan to Beluchistan.

British operations in Mesopotamia were undertaken by the Indian Government to defend India against the Turks, the close allies of Germany, who had been well trained by German officers.

I. The Conquest of the Euphrates-Tigris Delta, November–December, 1914.

November 22nd. Occupation of Basra, at the head of the delta.

December 9th. Occupation of Kurna, near the mouth of the Tigris and fifty miles north-west of Basra.

April 12th–14th, **1915.** The Turks, attempting to recover their lost ground, were completely defeated in the Battle of Shaiba, about ten miles south-west of Basra.

The British command of the delta was now firmly established. But a further advance should have been delayed until a sufficiently large force with proper transport and medical service had been obtained.

II. **From the Conquest of the Delta to the Fall of Kut.**

The advance along the Tigris was very difficult. Frequent shallows and sudden floods hindered the progress of transports; the country was low and marshy; the heat was excessive, and swarms of flies and the difficulty at times of ensuring water supplies added to the discomfort of the troops; the Arabs continually threatened to cut the long line of communications. The failure to build a railway to facilitate transport was a grave error.

A. The capture of Kut.

June 3rd, **1915.** Capture of Amara, seventy-five miles north of Kurna.

September 29th, **1915.** Capture of Kut-el-Amara by General Townshend. Up to this time the expedition had proved a brilliant success.

B. The advance towards Bagdad.

Bagdad was about one hundred miles by land from Kut. It was a sacred city of the Mahommedans, an important centre for road and rail, and its capture would retrieve our reputation which was tarnished by our lack of success in Gallipoli. But the advance from Kut was most unwise. Townshend's force was far too small, and he protested against the advance, but was overruled by the Indian authorities, who compelled him to make the attempt with 13,000 men, although he said that at least 30,000 were necessary. It was impossible to bring up adequate reinforcements, owing to the shortage of river craft and the difficulty of maintaining uninterrupted communication with a base 500 miles away. The country was difficult; Bagdad was an open town, and to hold it strong advanced positions at least seventy-five miles to the north would have to be occupied. The Turks far outnumbered

our men ; they held strong entrenchments well arranged under German supervision, and they had ample reinforcements.

C. The fall of Kut.

(1) November 22nd–25th, **1915.** Townshend, after initial success, failed to defeat the Turks at Ctesiphon, owing to lack of ammunition and the arrival of fresh enemy forces, and fell back to Kut, having lost nearly half his men.

(2) December 3rd, **1915.** The Turks attacked Kut, which was provisioned for two months, and, failing to take it by assault, blockaded it, constructing strong fortifications on the south to check relieving forces.

April 5th, **1916.** After two attempts had failed, General Gorringe carried two of the three Turkish lines to the south of Kut ; but a sudden flood prevented an immediate attack on the third and gave the Turks time to bring up strong reinforcements which held the line.

(3) April 29th, **1916.** Surrender of Kut with its garrison of 8000 men after a heroic resistance of five months. The surrender was due to lack of food ; boats had failed to force the passage of the Tigris, and the supplies dropped by aeroplanes were quite insufficient. " Not till my men were dying on an average of over twenty a day from starvation . . . did I surrender."[1] The transport had proved quite inadequate, and the medical service was so badly organised that our wounded on their way to the base hospital at Basra suffered tortures which were not exceeded by those which the proverbial barbarity of the Turks inflicted on their unfortunate prisoners.

Kut was a most important strategical position ; it was " the neck of a bottle," and whoever could hold it dominated Mesopotamia. By holding out for five months Townshend " saved us from being simply kicked out of Mesopotamia."

(4) Immediately after the fall of Kut strenuous efforts were made to improve the conditions in Mesopotamia ; railways were pushed on, the Tigris was drained, and the medical service radically overhauled. The foundation for a subsequent advance was well and truly laid.

[1] General Townshend.

III. **The Capture of Bagdad.**

In December, **1916,** General Sir Stanley Maude began his advance.

A. The recapture of Kut.

Kut was occupied by a Turkish garrison, strengthened by strong positions along the Shatt el Hai, which ran south from Kut on the Tigris to Nasiriyeh on the Euphrates, and at Sunniyat east of the Tigris and lower down the river than Kut. These lines were taken, the Turks fled to the north, and Kut surrendered February 24th, **1917.**

B. Kut to Bagdad.

The British advanced on both sides of the Tigris in pursuit of the retreating Turks, and on March 11th, **1917,** entered Bagdad. Maude's skilful plan of campaign had been brilliantly carried out, and the fall of Bagdad had an excellent moral effect, encouraging our men and restoring British prestige, which had been further impaired by the fall of Kut.

IV. **After Bagdad.**

The capture of Bagdad gave the British the command of the southern end of the completed portion of the Bagdad railway, of the roads of Mesopotamia, and of the main road to Persia. It was hoped that connection might be established with the Russians in the Caucasus, and that a combined attack might be made on the Turks from the south and west; but the Russian effort was paralysed by the Revolution which broke out on March 13th, and the British had to rely upon their own efforts in Mesopotamia.

A. Vigorous operations cleared the Turks from Persia, thus averting a possible threat to India, and from both banks of the Tigris, and on April 24th, **1917,** the British took Samurra, the other end of the railway, about seventy miles north of Bagdad. The defeat of the Turks at Ramadie, on the Euphrates, about sixty miles west of Bagdad, on September 29th, **1917,** materially strengthened the British position.

November 18th, **1917.** Death of General Maude of typhoid in Bagdad.

B. General Sir W. R. Marshall took command of the expedition

and succeeded in maintaining his position, in spite of repeated Turkish attacks. But for a time his advance was delayed, partly owing to the necessity of sending a force to help the anti-Revolutionary party against the Bolshevists in the Caucasus (where the British held Baku for six weeks, but retreated, September 14th, **1918,** on finding that local support was inadequate), and the danger that some Persian tribes in German pay might attack him on the east.

C. On the withdrawal of British forces from the Caucasus, Marshall again advanced northwards and entered Mosul, on the Tigris, about 250 miles north of Bagdad, on November 3rd, **1918,** three days after Turkey had surrendered to the Allies.

V. **General.**

A. The initial failure of the expedition, in spite of the heroism of Townshend's inadequate and ill-found force, was largely due to the fact that operations were controlled by both the India Office and the War Office from separate headquarters at Simla and London. In February, **1916,** the whole control was vested in the War Office, and, though the change came too late to save Kut in April, **1916,** it led by the early autumn to a remarkable improvement of conditions, especially in the transport and medical service, and thus paved the way for later success.

B. The early failure was due to a premature advance with inadequate forces. The success of Maude, who routed the Turks in three months, was due to his improvement of the "abominable line of communication,"[1] his organising power, the completion of the necessary preparations before he started, and the vigour and skill with which he conducted all operations.

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Nelson's History of the War, chaps. XXXVIII., LXXI., XCVIII., CXXVIII., CXXXVI.

[1] Sir Wm. Robertson.

THE FIRST COALITION GOVERNMENT

May, **1915**–December 5th, **1916.**

By the middle of June, **1915,** it was obvious that the whole nation must be organised for war service. One most important result was the widely increased use that was made of female labour. Many found employment in the V.A.D.,[1] particularly as nurses; many acted as tram conductors, chauffeurs, and post-women; many who remained at home provided woollen garments and food parcels for troops at the front and prisoners of war; many undertook to correspond with soldiers abroad.

The determination of the Allies, and particularly of the British, to win the war was greatly strengthened by the execution in Brussels on October 12th, **1915,** of Nurse Edith Cavell, who had assisted wounded prisoners of war to escape into Holland. The German law assigned the punishment of death for this offence and, in spite of the strong protests made by the United States, the full penalty was inflicted on a woman of the highest character who had nursed wounded Germans and Allies with equal care.

I. **The National Register.**

July 15th. Passage of the Bill for a National Register, which provided for the enrolment of all persons between the ages of sixty-five and fifteen and for the registration of their occupation.

II. **The Department of Munitions.**

June 9th, **1915.** The Department of Munitions was established by Act of Parliament to ensure the supply necessary for the war. It controlled all Government factories, including Woolwich Arsenal, and, by the Munitions Act of July 2nd, secured the power of making private works into "controlled establishments," of limiting owners' profits, suspending Trade Union regulations which hampered production, of deciding alteration in wages. England was divided into ten munition areas under local committees, and strikes became a punishable offence.

[1] Voluntary Aid Detachments.

III. **Finance, 1915–16.**

A. A new unlimited loan bearing interest at 4½ per cent was offered at par, and by July 10th £594,000,000 had been received.

B. It was estimated that the cost of the war would soon be £5,000,000 a day, and on September 21st new taxation had been introduced to meet the additional demand.

C. The income-tax was raised to 3*s.* 6*d.* on large incomes and 2*s.* 1*d.* on incomes under £1500. An Excess Profits tax of 50 per cent was levied on all profits above the average of the last few years ; a tax of 33⅓ per cent was imposed on imported motor-cars and other luxuries.

D. April 4th, **1916.** The year **1915** had resulted in a deficit of £1,285,000,000, including £423,000,000 lent to our allies, and to meet the deficit R. McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer, prepared a Budget which raised the income-tax to 5*s.*, increased the Excess Profits tax to 60 per cent, established an Amusement tax, and imposed a tax on matches and mineral waters.

IV. **The Blockade.**

It was impossible to make complete the blockade of Germany we had instituted on March 1st, **1915,** and neutrals naturally took advantage of the fact to carry on a very profitable trade with Germany. We asserted our right of confiscating goods intended for Germany, even if carried in neutral ships, and in consequence much irritation was aroused, particularly in the United States, owing to the action of the British Government in making food a contraband of war and of bringing neutral vessels into British ports for search. The Government of the United States held that our action was an interference with the freedom of the seas, issued a strong protest, and declared that "the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports, and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes, are without justification ; that the blockade upon which such methods are partly founded is ineffective, illegal, and indefensible."

The American protest caused great indignation in England, and some newspapers demanded that we should "stand no nonsense from the United States." It was felt that the United States did not realise the difficulties Great Britain had to face in her struggle with Prussianism, and that too much importance was attached to the letter of the law. Feeling ran high in both countries, but the situation was improved owing to the criminal folly of the Germans in torpedoing the liner *Lusitania* on May 7th, **1916,** with a loss of about 1100 passengers, including a number of Americans.

V. Conscription.

J. H. Thomas, the leader of the railwaymen, declared that conscription would lead to industrial revolution, but by the end of **1915** it had become obvious that we were not securing enough recruits to fill the vacancies in our ranks. Considerable dissatisfaction was caused by the exemption of men employed in "starred" industries, while the presence in the country of some two million unenlisted single men made married men unwilling to join up.

A. Lord Derby's scheme.

The Derby scheme involved the voluntary attestation by December the 12th of all unenlisted men between eighteen and forty-two in forty-six groups, which were to be summoned for military service in order, younger men being called up before older, and single men before married. After attestation in a group a man could appeal to a local tribunal for permanent or temporary exemption from military service, and appeals were made, sometimes on personal grounds, sometimes because the applicants claimed to be "indispensable" for the successful continuance of the business in which they were engaged. Men who had attested but had not been called up for service wore armlets as a proof of attestation. One hundred and sixty trades were scheduled as exempt from the scheme.

In his report, issued January 4th, **1916,** Lord Derby stated that out of over 3,000,000 men who had attested about 830,000 would be available for service when called up, but that about

650,000 unstarred single men had not attested. The failure of the latter made it difficult to call up married men, who had attested on condition that they were not to be called up until all single men were on military service. This difficulty made the scheme unworkable, and as voluntary enlistment had failed, the Government was compelled to introduce conscription.

B. The Military Service Act.

(1) The Act, which did not apply to Ireland, came into force February 10th, **1916,** It provided that all single men and childless widowers who were between the ages of eighteen and forty-one on August 15th, **1915,** should be called up for military service unless they were ministers of religion, medically unfit, indispensable for business, or conscientious objectors.

The Act was condemned by the British Labour Congress on January 26th, and led to the resignation of the Home Secretary, Sir John Simon, but was generally approved as a necessary evil in a time of grave national danger.

(2) Difficulties arose partly owing to the policy of some tribunals which, especially in agricultural districts, granted exemptions too readily to single men, partly because a number of men tried to escape military service by a false plea of conscientious objection, partly owing to the number of single men who found a shelter in reserved occupations. Owing to the discontent due to these causes the groups of married men were not called up, and, in consequence, the number of recruits fell far below that regarded as necessary by the military authorities.

The problem was settled by a new Act passed May 25th, **1916,** which brought all unattested married men of military age under the Military Service Act.

(3) But the difficulty of securing enough soldiers continued. In the beginning of October, **1916,** the British Army was 350,000 men short of the number guaranteed by the Government in February, and the Ministry of Munitions had starred 1,400,000 men, though many, perhaps most of these, were over military age.[1]

[The Sinn Fein rising in Ireland, April 21st–May 1st, **1916.**][2]

[1] Repington, *The First World War*, Vol. I, page 362. [2] Page 1173.

VI. Death of Lord Kitchener, June 5th, 1916.

H.M.S. *Hampshire*, in which Lord Kitchener was going to Russia, struck a mine off the Orkneys and only twelve men escaped. There was no truth in the rumour that the vessel was destroyed by an internal explosion, or owing to the presence of a hostile submarine as a result of German espionage in England.

Lord Kitchener had rendered invaluable service by raising "Kitchener's Army." But he proved difficult to work with; he and Sir John French were "temperamentally unsuited"; his methods were "too Oriental," and he resented the supreme authority of the Cabinet. He was too old to do full justice to the new conditions of warfare. "I am an old man, and I cannot change my habits." He did not realise the urgent need of a much larger supply of machine guns and high-explosive shells, and he showed unjustified distrust in the efficiency of the new Territorial forces.

Lloyd George succeeded Kitchener as Secretary of State for War, and E. S. Montague became Minister of Munitions.

VII. The Fall of the Government, December 5th, 1916.

During the autumn the feeling against the Government grew very strong. The rapid rise of prices and the failure to control food, the growing danger from submarines, the unsatisfactory arrangements for pensions, disappointment at our lack of success in the Balkans,[1] and the conviction that our enormous losses on the Somme[2] had not led to adequate results, were some of the causes of discontent. The immediate cause was Lloyd George's insistent demand for a reform of the War Committee of Seven.

December 5th. Resignation of Mr. Asquith.

December 7th. Lloyd George appointed Prime Minister, on Bonar Law's failure to form a ministry.

The Government had done much good work, but it was formed on party lines and was political rather than administrative. There was a feeling that it was ineffective, lacked foresight and decision, and was too prone to "wait and see."

The Prime Minister was a man of high character and great

[1] Page 1186. [2] Page 1195.

ability, but he " was not emotional, and did not respond to the varying moods of the hour with the versatility demanded by the experts in daily sensation."[1]

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. CL., CXXV.

A Short History of the Great War, by Pollard, pages 236–40. (Methuen.)

GALLIPOLI

February–December, 1915.

Turkey joined the Central Powers October 30th, **1914,** owing to the strong pro-German policy of the Minister of War, Enver Pasha ; to the skilful policy of the Kaiser, who had made German influence supreme in Constantinople ; to the standing hostility of Turkey to Russia ; and to the desire of regaining Egypt and Cyprus. Germany provided Turkey with lavish supplies of money, soldiers, and arms ; German officers reorganised the Turkish Army, of which General Liman von Sanders was Commander-in-chief. Two German cruisers, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, which successfully evaded the British Mediterranean Fleet, arrived safely at Constantinople August 9th and were bought by Turkey. Their presence had a restraining effect on the numerically large, but comparatively uninfluential, part of the population who favoured the Allies.

Early in **1915** the Allies determined to try to force the passage of the Dardanelles. The success of this operation would have had most important results. Politically it would have proved a blow at the heart of Turkey : it would have led to the capture of Constantinople and the destruction of the Turkish power in Europe. If Constantinople became an Allied base, Bulgaria would hesitate to join Germany, Roumania and Greece would be relieved from the danger of a Turkish attack, and, together with Italy,

[1] **Prof. Pollard,** *A Short History of the Great War*, page 238.

would join the Allies. The addition of these forces would greatly strengthen the Eastern front and facilitate operations against Austria from the south. The command of the Dardanelles would enable the Allies to send into Russia the munitions and guns she so badly needed, and would enable Russia to export to the Allies her surplus corn; it would relieve the Turkish pressure on the Russians in the Caucasus. A thrust towards Constantinople would be a most effective way of defending Egypt.

I. **The Naval Attack.**

A. The outer forts.

February 19th–26th. British and French battleships operating from the port of Mudros in Lemnos as their base, silenced the forts of Cape Helles and Sedd-el-Bahr, at the south-east extremity of Gallipoli, and Kum Kale and Orkanieh on the opposite shore of Asia Minor, and thus, largely owing to the 15-inch guns of H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth*, accomplished the easy task of opening the entrance to the Dardanelles.

B. The Narrows.

The breadth of the Narrows is only about three-quarters of a mile, and the operations of the Allied battleships were hampered by lack of room and by bends in the channel. The Narrows were very strongly defended by heavily armed forts, floating mines, and land torpedoes, and although in April a British submarine dived under the minefield and attacked Constantinople, the attempt of the French and British battleships (March 18th) to force a passage proved an utter failure. Two British and one French battleships were sunk by mines, and over 2000 men were lost.

C. Past experience had shown the impossibility of reducing well-equipped forts by gunfire from the sea. The only justification for the attack on the Narrows was the hope, unhappily unfulfilled, that the new heavy guns directed by aeroplanes might achieve the desired end and get near enough to threaten Constantinople. The failure of the fleet led to the adoption of the orthodox plan of a combined attack by sea and land. The expedition to the peninsula of Gallipoli was not the prelude to

an attack on Constantinople by land, but an attempt to facilitate the passage of the fleet by securing positions which commanded the forts guarding the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora. At the same time the Russians were to attack Turkey in the Black Sea, but their reverses in Poland[1] rendered such co-operation impossible.

II. The First Landing on Gallipoli.

The peninsula of Gallipoli is about fifty miles long and from two to twelve broad. It is a very difficult country of steep hills, intersected with deep gorges and covered with thick scrub. It had been very strongly fortified under German direction and was held by probably not less than 200,000 Turkish troops, well equipped with artillery and machine guns. The important strategical points were the Anafarta Heights, about four miles east of Suvla Bay; Sari Bair, east of Anzac Cove; Kilid Bahr, commanding the Narrows; and Achi Baba, about six miles from Cape Helles.

April 25th. After a delay, due to bad weather, which made a surprise attack impossible, the peninsula was attacked in two places by Sir Ian Hamilton with a force of 120,000 men, some French, but most British, and including the "Anzacs."[2] The fleet helped the attack by heavily bombarding the Turkish positions; the *Queen Elizabeth*, instructed by aeroplanes, sank a Turkish transport with a shell accurately fired over the hills at a distance of eight miles.

A. The extreme south.

April 25th–27th. All the beaches were "strongly defended with barbed wire entanglements on the shore and under the water, with sea and land mines, with strongly entrenched riflemen, many machine guns, and ample artillery."[3] But in spite of apparently insuperable obstacles, and in face of a murderous fire of 10,000 shots per minute, landings were successfully made on four out of five places attempted, and the Allies secured the extreme south of the peninsula—the greatest achievement of the kind in British history.

[1] Page 1161. [2] Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.
[3] *Gallipoli*, Masefield, page 24.

B. The Gulf of Saros.

April 25th. The Australians made a brilliant landing at Anzac Bay, north of Gaba Tepe and established themselves on the cliffs above the beach.

III. **The Attempt to Advance.**

A. The extreme south.

The forces in the south tried to capture the village of Krithia, four miles north of Cape Helles, and then to take the adjoining heights of Achi Baba. But so strong were the Turkish positions that the Allies failed to reach Krithia, though they got within a mile of it on June 4th and made a further advance on June 28th ; lack of reserves prevented them from following up their success.

B. The Australians maintained their position at Gaba Tepe, where their presence prevented large Turkish forces from operating in the south, but could not reach the Pasha Dagh heights which commanded the forts of the Narrows and Sea of Marmora.

IV. **Suvla Bay, August 4th–10th, 1915.**

As operations in the extreme south had reached a stalemate a new move was planned further north. An attack on Sari Bair was to be made from Anzac ; a new landing was to be made at Suvla Bay five miles to the north, and a force advancing from Suvla Bay was to occupy the Anafarta Heights and to attack Sari Bair from the north, and thus to link on to the troops operating from Anzac. At the same time the Allies were to fight a containing action near Krithia, and a surprise party was to land on the north shore of the Gulf of Saros. The general object was to establish control of the heights from Gaba Tepe to Maidos, thus cutting Turkish communications with the south and commanding the forts of the Dardanelles.

A. August 4th–6th. Reinforcing troops sent at night into Anzac. Anzac troops captured Lone Pine plateau, one mile E.S.E. of Anzac, August 6th, thus diverting large numbers of Turks from Sari Bair.

B. August 8th. New Zealanders took Chunuk Bair, one of the most important spurs of Sari Bair.

C. Suvla Bay.

(1) August 6th–8th. Successful disembarkation at Suvla Bay. Failure, owing to the excessive heat, inadequate supply of water, and lack of energy at the critical moment of the general in command, to secure the Anafarta Heights. Consequent impossibility of the intended united advance against the Turkish position on Pasha Dagh.

(2) August 21st. Failure of a second attempt from Suvla Bay on Anafarta Heights.

At a cost of nearly 40,000 casualties in three weeks no real advantage had been secured. But the Turks "were shaken to the heart. Another battle following at once might well have broken them." But authorities at home decided that they could not send the necessary reinforcements of men and shells, and the Gallipoli campaign henceforth became a containing operation which held up considerable forces of Turks, thus preventing them from service elsewhere. Trench warfare, dysentery, the unbearable heat of the summer and the intense cold of early winter continued to add to our casualties, until the authorities decided that our troops would be more useful in other fields.

V. **Evacuation, December 9th–20th, 1915.**

The intention was concealed from the Turks by most ingenious bluff, and the guns of our warships covered the evacuation.

December 19th, **1915.** Evacuation without loss of Anzac and Suvla Bay covered by an attack from Cape Helles.

January 9th, **1916.** Evacuation, with one man wounded, of Cape Helles.

The evacuation of three Army Corps with all their guns and all the stores that were worth taking, in face of superior enemy forces, with but one casualty is the finest example of the kind on record. It was made possible by the fine weather, the skill with which the Turks were bluffed, and the perfect way in which the movement was organised.

VI. General.

A. Cost and results.

The Gallipoli expedition cost us about 115,000 casualties, including 25,000 killed, and 100,000 sick. It prevented large forces of the Turks from fighting the Russians in the Caucasus and, for a time, the British in Mesopotamia; it was one of the causes which led Italy to join the Allies, and delayed Bulgarian intervention.

B. Arguments for and against.

(1) But the wisdom of the undertaking, which detached large forces available for service on the Western front, and led to the removal of guns which were in use in Belgium, was gravely questioned. Sir Wm. Robertson insisted on the need of concentrating operations on decisive points and held that this was one of our "expeditions on a vast scale and in remote theatres, which were strategically unsound."[1] Sir Ian Hamilton complained that he had not been properly supported by the home authorities, and asserted that he could have got through at Suvla Bay if he had had the reinforcements he asked for. Macfail[2] asserted that "the whole business was badly judged, badly timed" and "due to muddled diplomacy." "We undertook the expedition without adequate resources, without adequate consideration or preparation."[3]

(2) But concentration on the Western front alone would practically have left the enemy a free hand on the Eastern, would have given him a large measure of initiative, and neglected the opportunity of turning his flanks.

(3) The failure of the expedition was due partly to the fact that no Greek or Russian troops co-operated in the undertaking, although both of these Governments had promised assistance. But the British authorities were seriously at fault, if not in the conception of the plan of campaign, certainly in the lack of energy with which they tried to put it into execution. The expedition was distinguished by the wonderful heroism of the troops and by

[1] Page 248. [2] *Germany at Bay*, page 214. [3] Ian Hamilton

the skill with which the evacuation was conducted. But the British do not like evacuations by their own troops.

References :

British Campaigns in the Nearer East, by Dane, Vol. I. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

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Nelson's History of the War, chaps. XLVII., XLIX., LX., LXV., LXXII., LXXXVI.

My Gallipoli Diary, by Ian Hamilton. (Edward Arnold.)

THE EASTERN FRONT

January–September, **1915.**

I. The Russians capture Przemysl.

The Austrians aimed at driving Brussilov from the Carpathians, at relieving Przemysl, and recapturing Lemberg. But Brussilov held the Dukla Pass.[1]

March 22nd. Przemysl surrendered to the Russians.

March 25th. Three days later the Russians greatly improved their position by capturing the Lupkow Pass and seemed likely to pour down into Hungary.

II. Mackensen's Great Thrust.

To avert this danger Mackensen, whose forces had been strengthened by most efficient reinforcements from the Western front and who was supplied with at least 1500 heavy batteries, made a powerful thrust in Galicia at the centre of the Russians, who, though little inferior in numbers, were sadly deficient in artillery.

A. Przemysl and Lemberg recaptured.

May 2nd–12th. Mackensen drove the Russian centre seventy-five miles from the Biala to the San ; Brussilov was forced to

[1] S.W. of Przemysl.

fall back owing to the retreat of the centre ; Przemysl was recaptured by the Germans and Austrians June 2nd, and Lemberg June 22nd. These operations restored confidence in Austria and Hungary, and in the Balkan States checked feeling in favour of the Allies.

The fall of Lemberg and the reconquest of Galicia left Mackensen free to strike at Warsaw.

B. The thrust towards Warsaw.

(1) The Grand Duke Nicholas, realising the importance of saving the Russian armies, fell back before the Germans, who turned the line of the Vistula, advanced successfully along the whole line in Courland, taking Libau May 9th, to the Narev in Poland, and, under Mackensen himself, to Cholm, 120 miles south-east of Warsaw.

(2) August 5th. The Germans entered Warsaw.

Mackensen had, although at heavy cost, averted all danger to Cracow, the gateway to Silesia, retaken the Galician oilfields, saved the corn land of Hungary, established the German supremacy in Bukovina, thus threatening Roumania, and captured Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

III. **The German Advance from Warsaw.**

(1) August 25th. The Germans continued to advance eastward. In Poland they took Kovno on August 17th, and gained a great victory at Meiszagola on September 12th. Advancing due east of Warsaw, by August 25th they had crossed the Niemen and secured Brest Litovsk. On September 5th the Czar assumed command of the Russian armies, and the Grand Duke Nicholas became Viceroy of the Caucasus. By the end of September the Russians had retreated to the line Lutsk–Pripet Marshes–Novo Grodek–Dvinsk and the left bank of the Dwina. By this time the offensive on the Western front had begun at Loos,[1] and the pressure on the Russians was lightened.

(2) The Germans had failed in their attempt to destroy the Russian armies. These had made a magnificent retreat, in spite

[1] Page 1164.

of the criminal folly of the Government, which had so utterly failed to make provision for the needs of their army that only two shells per day were allotted to some of the artillery, and unarmed troops were able to secure rifles only by taking those of their wounded or dead comrades.

(3) But the German thrust had important results. It gave Germany millions of Russians prisoners, who were engaged on munition or agricultural work, and so released many Germans for active service. It established Germany so strongly on the Eastern front that the power of Russia to check German aggression in the Balkans was diminished: it prevented Russia from co-operating vigorously on the Eastern front with the British who were attacking Gallipoli. It was a distinct triumph for Germany and a calamity for the Allies.

Reference:

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. XLIV., LIII., LIV., LXII., LXIII., LXXIII

SALONIKA

October, **1915**–September, **1918.**

In spite of the importance of the Western front Germany never relinquished her attempt to strengthen her hold on the Balkans, and the Allied expeditions to Gallipoli and Salonika were intended to check German aggression in the Near East. The immediate cause of the latter was the grave danger in which Serbia was placed in the autumn of **1915**, and it was hoped that Roumania would join the Allies if the new undertaking proved successful, and that Greece would fulfil her promise to assist Serbia against Bulgaria.

I. The Overthrow of Serbia.

Germany and Austria were always anxious to subdue Serbia, the key to the Balkans. A successful attack on Serbia in September, **1915**, would enable the Germans to send to Turkey

the munitions she needed, would probably divert Allied forces from the Western front, and would give Bulgaria the opportunity she desired of joining the Central Powers and attacking her hated enemy.

Serbia was weak, owing partly to her heavy losses in war, and partly to an epidemic of typhus which had carried off 50,000 men in **1915.** She was hopelessly inferior to her opponents in men and still more in guns.

A. The German attack.

The Germans, under Mackensen, attacked Serbia from the north, hoping to secure communication with Turkey —

(*a*) By water down the Danube ;
(*b*) Overland through Serbia.

(1) October 9th. They crossed the Danube and captured Belgrade. This and subsequent operations of the Austrians to the east gave them command of the Danube.

(2) They advanced south against the Serbians, who were steadily driven back.

B. The Bulgarian attack.

(1) October 12th. Bulgaria declared war on Serbia and her armies attacked her eastern frontier, October 22nd. They captured Uskub, the centre of communication by road and rail for Southern Serbia, and practically cut off the Southern Serbian army from the Northern, which was retreating before Mackensen.

(2) November 16th. They drove the Serbians back from the Babuna Pass which they tried to hold to protect Monastir.

C. The flight and reorganisation of the Serbian Army.

The army and as many civilians as could escape fled westwards through Albania. "Nothing in the whole history of the war, not even the overwhelming of Belgium, is comparable with the mental and physical sufferings of the Serbs during their march across Albania."[1] The aged and infirm King Peter and 130,000

[1] Mann, *The Salonika Front*, page 121.

soldiers with 81 guns reached the Adriatic coast at Durazzo, Scutari, or Valona. They were taken by the Allies to Corfu, equipped and reorganised, and in one month, April 1st, the first contingents were sent on active service to Salonika.

II. The Early Operations from Salonika, October 5th, 1915–March, 1916.

A. The Landing.

October 5th, **1915.** Thirty-four thousand French and 14,000 British troops landed at Salonika in spite of a very faint-hearted protest made by the Greek statesman, Venezelos.

B. The Advance.

November 5th. The French immediately advanced along the Vardar Valley, hoping to join the Serbian right or to help the Serbians by attacking the Bulgarian left. They reached Kavador, only ten miles from the Babuna Pass, but failed to effect a junction with the Serbians before their defeat and were themselves threatened by the victorious Bulgarians.

The British had advanced nearly to Lake Doiran.

C. The Retreat.

The Allies were compelled to retreat to Greek territory. Salonika was strongly fortified by the "Birdcage" line, which extended for sixty miles in front of Salonika with a minimum depth of ten miles. The left was protected by marshes, the right by the Mediterranean Fleet, and the centre by trenches and barbed wire. For some months the Allies rested on this impregnable base.

III. The Second Allied Offensive, August–December, 1916.

A. Causes.

This offensive was due to several causes.

(1) Roumania was on the point of joining the Allies, who promised to make an attack in the Balkans eight days before Roumania declared war, thus hoping to keep the Bulgarians engaged.

(2) The Bulgarians were known to be contemplating an offensive, partly perhaps to prevent reinforcements being sent from Salonika to assist in the first battle of the Somme.[1]

B. Greece.

The attitude of Greece increased the difficulties of the Allies. King Constantine, " Tino," the brother-in-law of the Kaiser, was pro-German ; Venezelos was strongly pro-British, but our prestige had been impaired by the expedition to Gallipoli, the surrender of Kut, April 29th, **1916,** and our failure to save Serbia ; the Greeks had given to the Bulgarians the fort of Rupel in the Struma Valley on May 26th, and Sarrail feared that he might be attacked by Greek troops from the south. Allied warships threatened the Piraeus ; the surrender of Rupel, and Bulgarian raids into Macedonia roused national feeling. On August 30th the Venezelists at Salonika renounced allegiance to Constantine and definitely joined the Allies.

C. The Offensive.

(1) The British on the right centre advanced their lines in the Struma Valley in September and October and maintained their positions.

(2) The Greeks on the extreme right were defeated by the Bulgarians, who took the coast town of Kavalla, August 25th.

(3) The French maintained their position near Lake Doiran in the left centre.

(4) The Serbians, with French and Russian troops, made a brilliant advance on the left and captured Monastir, November 19th. The capture of Monastir was the first step in the reconquest of Serbia. Lack of reserves prevented a further advance, and the armies settled down to a winter campaign of trench warfare.

IV. 1917 an Unsuccessful Year.

A. Sarrail determined to make a strong attack on the Bulgarian centre around Lake Doiran.

[1] Page 1189.

April–May, **1917.** The British attack on the famous Pip Ridge took part of the enemy's lines, but failed to carry his main position, which was very strong. The British withdrew to the hills from the Struma Valley owing to the danger of "malaria and dysentery in the marshy valleys."

B. The despatch of troops to Greece rendered a further offensive impossible. The French occupied the Isthmus of Corinth on June 11th. The next day King Constantine abdicated and was succeeded by his second son, Alexander. Venezelos became Prime Minister and Salonika was relieved of all danger from Greece.

V. The Successful Offensive of 1918.

General Franchet d'Esperey, now in command, realising the importance of a strong offensive in the Balkans in collaboration with the Allied offensive on the Western front, determined to strike at Uskub, the key position of the Bulgarian right. His forces had been strengthened by a large and effective Greek contingent.

A. September 14th–24th, **1918.** The British and Greeks attacked near Lake Doiran and in the Struma Valley and routed the Bulgarian left.

B. The French, Italians, and Serbians made a remarkably rapid advance on the west. The French took Prilep, forty miles south of Uskub on September 24th, and the next day the Serbians captured the Babuna Pass, September 25th. On September 29th, **1918,** the Bulgarians submitted unconditionally. The Austrians were easily driven out of Serbia, and by the end of October the Serbians were in Belgrade.

VI. General.

A. According to Colonel Repington[1] the British Cabinet was divided; Lloyd George originally proposed the Salonika expedition which Joffre at first opposed, but afterwards supported. Sir Wm. Robertson was anxious to withdraw the troops from Salonika for service on the Western front.

[1] Vol. I, page 52.

B. Mr. Buchan[1] asserts that "the Salonika campaign, which for three years had seemed to be a fruitless divergent adventure, found abundant justification." It prevented the Central Powers, whose submarines did great damage in the Mediterranean, from securing Salonika as an additional submarine base. It kept Bulgaria from fighting on other fronts and finally led to her surrender, thus cutting the direct connection between Germany and Turkey and exposing to Allied attack the southern frontiers of Austria and Roumania. It ensured our communications with Egypt and saved Greece from complete domination by Germany.

C. Sir Wm. Robertson[2] asserts that the Salonika expedition "absorbed a large Entente force which contributed nothing material to the winning of the war, beyond detaining two or three German divisions of inferior quality, and a number of Bulgarian divisions who would probably have objected to serve outside the Balkan Peninsula."

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. LXXXV., CXI., CXXXVI., CLXI.

The Salonika Front, by Mann. (Blackie.)

THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE SOMME

July 1st–November 19th, **1916.**

Fighting was practically continuous on British sections of the Western front from January–July, **1916**; the British gained some successes at St. Eloi in March. In June the Canadians lost and regained some trenches in the Ypres salient; further south the Germans gained some success at Frise. German operations in this part of the front were intended to prevent the Allies from sending reinforcements to Verdun, against which the Germans delivered two furious assaults. The first lasted from

[1] Nelson's *History of the War*, Vol. XXIII, page 118.
[2] *From Private to Field Marshal*, page 277.

February 21st to about April 9th and proved a costly failure. The second began on May 3rd and continued into **1917.** It also failed, but the position was desperate on June 23rd when seventeen German regiments attacked Thiaumont-Vaux and got within three miles of the town, and General Nivelle declared in an army order : " The hour is decisive. The Germans, hunted down on all sides, are launching wild and furious attacks on our front. You will not let them pass, my comrades."

The Allied offensive on the Somme was intended to relieve the pressure on Verdun, to prevent the Germans from sending reinforcements to check Brussilov's advance on the Eastern front, to wear down the enemy and, if opportunity arose, to break through his line.

The British had received strong reinforcements and were well supplied with guns and ammunition. Very elaborate preparations were made behind the lines ; many miles of railways and trenches were constructed ; mines were dug under the enemy's lines ; over 120 miles of water mains were laid down.

The Germans had greatly strengthened their positions. The chalky country enabled them to construct dugouts of unusual depth, in some cases sixty feet ; they made full use of the cellars of the local villages and had ample stores of munitions and guns, especially machine guns. Their lines were a very strong fortress. " Never in the whole course of history have soldiers been confronted with such an obstacle."

The German lines formed a front of about thirty miles : Gommecourt, Beaumont-Hamel, River Ancre, Thiepval, Ovilliers, La Boiselle (with Contalmaison in rear), Mametz, Montauban, Maricourt, River Somme, Frise, Dompierre, Soyecourt. The British attacked the line Gommecourt–Maricourt, the French from Maricourt to Soyecourt.

I. The First Attack, July 1st–12th, 1916.

The object of the first attack was to secure the first line of German trenches. It was preceded by an intense bombardment which played havoc with the German trenches, and followed by a barrage which checked the advance of German reinforcements.

A. Failure on the British left.

In spite of great heroism the British were held and suffered great loss from Gommecourt to Thiepval, largely because of the execution wrought by the German machine guns which had been kept safe in the deep dugouts during the bombardment and were used with much effect against the attacking troops. The Germans had expected to be attacked on this sector and had made special preparations.

B. Success of the British right.

The Germans in some parts of this sector were not expecting an immediate attack; the British bombed the dugouts and suffered less from machine-gun fire and the Germans had made less adequate preparations in the south of the line than in the north.

The British captured on July 1st Mametz and Montauban on the extreme right; by July 12th they had invested Ovilliers, captured La Boiselle, Contalmaison, and Mametz Wood. The fighting in the wood was difficult, as thick undergrowth and fallen trees impeded progress and the woods afforded excellent positions for machine guns.

C. Great success of the French.

The French advanced with extraordinary rapidity on the south. They penetrated the German position to a maximum depth of six and a half miles, and in places got through the *third* line.

II. **The Second Attack, July 14th–September 9th, 1916.**

The second attack was intended to—

(*a*) Make a breach in the second German line.

(*b*) Widen that breach.

(*c*) Reduce positions on the German right which had not been captured in the first attack.

A. The breach in the second German line. July 14th. **1916.**

July 14th. A sudden attack, which the Germans were not expecting, resulted in the capture of about three miles of the

German second line between, but not including, Pozières and Longueval, and including Bazentin le Petit and Bazentin le Grand.

B. The widening of the breach.

(1) To the west.

July 16th. Capture of Ovilliers in the first German line which had resisted the first attack.

July 26th. Capture of Pozières one of the strong points of the Thiepval Plateau.

(2) To the east.

July 28th. Longueval captured after a battle of thirteen days in the town and the neighbouring Delville Wood.

(3) To the south.

September 3rd. Capture of Guillemont; this success enabled the British to line up with the French on the south.

September 9th. Capture of Ginchy.

The breach had been widened from three miles to seven.

III. **The Third Attack, September 15th–November 10th, 1916.**

The British advanced from the second German line, Pozières–Longueval–Ginchy, and attacked the third line, Courcelette–Martinpuich–Flers–Morval.

A. The advance in the centre and east.

(1) September 15th. A most successful advance was made from the line Bazentin le Petit–Ginchy against a threefold line of fortifications protected by a thousand guns. Courcellete, Martinpuich, High Wood the scene of heavy fighting in the past, and Flers were taken. Tanks were used for the first time and proved most valuable in tearing down barbed wire, rolling out machine-gun positions, weakening the German morale and, at Flers, knocking down houses containing machine guns.

(2) The British captured Morval on September 25th, thus partly encircling Combles, a very strong German position. The French,

coming from the south, completed the envelopment and Combles was captured September 26th.

September 27th. The British, advancing on the captured front, took Gueudecourt.

B. The capture of the Thiepval plateau on the west.

The Thiepval plateau was most important. Its successful defence held up the British left, if they captured it the British would command the German positions in the Ancre valleys. The capture of Thiepval was a necessary preliminary to the attack on the fourth German line. Pozières to the south and Courcelette on the east were favourable starting-points for the attack in which tanks assisted.

September 26th. Thiepval village captured.

September 28th. Capture of part of the strong Schwaben redoubt north of Thiepval.

October 21st. Capture of the Schwaben redoubt.

November 10th. Capture of the whole of the Thiepval plateau.

The French had met with great success and were established on the line Sailly–Rancourt–Bouchavesnes, in connection with, though extending farther east than, the British. Further south they had got within three miles of Peronne.

The British had been greatly handicapped by bad weather, which became worse in October. The heavy rainfall ruined the roads, made transport most difficult, hindered the tanks, and greatly limited the work of the airmen. "The mud was on the men's bodies, in their food, and for ever clogging both their feet and their weapons."[1]

IV. The Fourth Attack. The Battle of the Ancre, November 13th–19th, 1916.

The Battle of the Ancre was an attempt to further widen the breach by the capture of Beaumont-Hamel and Beaucourt to the north of the River Ancre. These positions had successfully resisted the initial attack of July 1st; they consisted largely of

[1] Doyle.

subterranean caverns strongly defended and connected one with another. But the capture of the Thiepval plateau enabled the British to enfilade the position, and on November 13th a strong attack was made from the old British lines on the west and from the higher plateau on the south. A spell of finer weather facilitated the operations.

November 13th. Beaumont-Hamel captured.

November 14th. Beaucourt captured.

The battle continued successfully until November 19th, when the weather became so bad that further offensive was impossible and the First Battle of the Somme came to an end.

V. General.

From the point of view of the men engaged and of losses sustained the First Battle of the Somme was the greatest battle in recorded history up to date. "It first brought the real horrors of war into the homes of the people." The Germans lost about 600,000 men, the British over 400,000. Our appalling losses led some to maintain that the results were inadequate. This view is mistaken, for the battle was a great success for the Allies. It "marked a definite stage on the road to victory."[1] It taught our men two important lessons in tactics: that an offensive must be made on as broad a front as possible to prevent concentration of enemy gunfire, and that the objective must be limited to the area controlled by the gunfire of the attacking force. These lessons were put into practice by Haig at the Battle of Arras, April, **1917.**[2]

A. The Results.

(1) The Germans lost very heavily, their reserves were greatly depleted, and their morale was badly shattered by what they called "the blood bath of the Somme." Ludendorff says: "We were completely exhausted on the Western front. . . . We now urgently needed a rest. The army had been fought to a standstill and was utterly worn out." The weather alone saved the Germans: if it had been propitious the battle might have proved

[1] Sir Wm. Robertson. [2] Page 1211.

the crowning victory of the Allies; as it was "it taxed to the uttermost the German war machine."[1]

(2) The battle relieved Verdun and assisted the Russian advance[2] by preventing the Germans from sending adequate reinforcements to the East. It was the main cause of the German withdrawal to the Hindenburg line in March, **1917,** and of the proposals for peace which Germany made on December 12th, **1916.**

(3) The British made a breach of about twenty miles in the German front and captured their third lines over a considerable area. The French, who the Germans thought were too seriously engaged at Verdun for serious operations on the Somme, were equally successful to the south, and the Allies made a total advance on a front of about twenty-five miles to a maximum depth of nine miles.

B. Arms and equipment.

The battle was the first in which the British had attacked with adequate forces, guns, and equipment. At Albert the British "fired 38,000 shells from twenty guns during the seven days' bombardment."[3] The firing was most effective, the creeping barrage which advanced just in front of our troops, facilitated advance and constituted a new development in artillery tactics; our barrage on the German lines made it most difficult for the enemy to bring up munitions, food, and water and to evacuate his wounded.

The Tanks, although their use was largely experimental, proved most successful against enemy machine guns, which were a most serious obstacle to advancing infantry, and rendered signal service at Flers and Beaumont. But many broke down, their presence attracted the enemy fire and sometimes they proved a great disappointment.

The British air force, which was at this time far superior to the German, prevented the enemy from getting full information as

[1] Buchan. [2] Page 1197.
[3] Repington, Vol. I, page 272.

to our preparations and arrangements, and secured valuable information by daring excursions over the German lines.

References :

Nelson's History of the War, Vol. XVI.
The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1916, by Doyle. (Hodder and Stoughton.)
The Realities of War, by Gibbs. Part VI. (Heinemann.)
The Battles of the Somme, by Gibbs. (Heinemann.)
Canada in Flanders, by Aitken, Vol. III, chaps. III.–X. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

THE EASTERN FRONT

From February, **1916,** to the Russian Revolution, March, **1917.**

During the late autumn of 1915 the Russians succeeded in holding the line of the Dwina from Riga to Dvinsk, and by the end of the year they had greatly strengthened their reserves and enormously increased their supplies of guns and ammunition. In the beginning of **1916** they took the offensive against the Austrians in the centre at Lutsk and in the south in the Bukovina, between the Dniester and the Pruth. No advance was made, but the attempt led to the withdrawal of German forces from the Balkans and eased the pressure on the Allies to the north of Salonika. The capture of Erzerum, February 16th, **1916,** in the Caucasus by the Grand Duke Nicholas, one of the finest performances of the war, struck a heavy blow at the Turks.

I. Brussilov's Great Offensive.

Brussilov's offensive was intended partly to prevent Germany from sending troops to the west to join in the siege of Verdun or to resist the British and French offensive[1] on the Somme, partly to relieve Italy now hard pressed by the Austrians, who

[1] Page 1189.

were pressing towards Venice, partly to ascertain the strength of the enemy on the Eastern front.

A. The First Thrust, June 4th–June 23rd, **1916.**

(1) In the centre Lutsk was captured on June 6th and a salient extending twenty-five miles to the west was driven into the Austrian lines.

(2) In the Bukovina Czernovitz was captured on June 17th. Thus the first steps of a great advance had been made.

B. The Second Thrust, July 4th–August 10th.

(1) A strong advance was made towards Kovel, a most important centre of communication N.W. of Lutsk and S.W. of the Pripet Marshes.

(2) South of Lutsk the capture of Brody (July 28th) constituted a grave menace to Lemburg, which was also imperilled by a further Russian advance along the Dniester and in the Bukovina.

Thus in ten weeks Brussilov had inflicted nearly a million casualties on the Germans and Austrians and seemed likely to capture Lemberg and Kovel. To meet the grave danger in the East considerable German forces were transferred from the Somme and Austrian forces were taken from the Italian front. The Russian offensive was thus a contributary cause to the victory of the Somme[1] and the capture of Gorizia[2] by the Italians on August 9th.

But the hopes of capturing Lemberg and Kovel were not realised and the position of the Allies on the Eastern front was weakened by the defeat of Roumania and ruined by the Russian Revolution.

II. The Defeat of Roumania.

A. The success of Brussilov, the failure of the Germans at Verdun, the hope that the Allies would hold the Bulgarians on the Salonika front, and the Allied offensive on the Somme encouraged Roumania to declare war on Austria (August 27th, **1916**). Within a few days Germany and Bulgaria declared war on Roumania.

[1] Page 1189. [2] Page 1207.

The action of Roumania was taken in the expectation of a Russian advance through the Dobrudja, which would have checked Mackensen's operations in the east of Roumania, threatened Bulgaria, and cut off Turkey. But the Russian Revolution and the Russian operations in Asia Minor rendered the desired advance impossible, and the overthrow of Roumania was due largely to this fact.

Her immediate object was to strengthen her long semicircular northern frontier, which was weakened by the fact that the enemy holding the inner lines could easily attack any part of the circumference, while the Roumanians were hampered by inadequate railway facilities.

B. Striking north across the Transylvanian Alps, the Roumanians overran a large part of Transylvania by the middle of September ; but von Falkenhayn drove them back, forced the northern passes, turned the western flank of the Roumanians, overran Wallachia and Western Roumania, but failed to get the corn and oil he expected, as the retreating Roumanians destroyed the oilfields and carried away or destroyed the corn. Von Mackensen attacked Roumania from the south-east (the Dobrudja), crossed the Danube, turned the eastern flank of the Roumanians, and entered Bucharest on December 5th, **1916.**

C. Moldavia, the northern part of Roumania, held out, largely owing to Russian help ; the seat of government was transferred to Jassy. Roumania was weakened by Bolshevist intrigue at home, but succeeded in retaining Moldavia. She made peace with the Central Powers by the Treaty of Bucharest, March, **1918,** which left the Germans in control of Wallachia and Bucharest.

III. The Russian Revolution.

A. Causes.

Grave discontent had arisen in Russia. The reactionary party, led by Alexander Protopopov, was bent on restoring the autocratic power of the Czar and weakening the Duma ; Ministers who supported constitutional methods were removed from office in **January, 1917.** The people suffered greatly from hunger, the

troops were inadequately supplied, and corruption was rife in high places. The Emperor was too weak to deal with an exceptionally difficult situation ; the Empress was thought to favour Germany, and grave scandal was caused owing to the extraordinary influence exercised by Gregory Rasputin, a dissolute charlatan, over the ladies of the Court and over the Empress, who believed that his prayers had led to an improvement in the health of the delicate Tsarevitch.[1]

B. The Revolution, March 8th–14th, **1917.**

(1) The outbreak.

The Revolution began with the pillage of some bakers' shops on March 8th. The next day the streets were filled with crowds which showed friendship towards soldiers and marked hostility towards the police. On the 12th the soldiers refused to fire on the crowd, who took possession of the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul ; the Duma appointed a Provisional Government. On the 13th troops sent to put down the Revolution joined in the movement ; many police were killed, in spite of the machine guns they used. On the 15th the Emperor abdicated in favour of his brother, the Grand Duke Michael. But the Russians insisted on a Republic, and Kerensky persuaded the Soviet (or Council) of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates to accept a Provisional Government appointed by the Duma. The offensive was renewed on the Eastern front, but lack of discipline and disorganisation rendered success impossible.

(2) The Bolshevists.

Before long the real power passed into the hands of the Bolshevists and Social Democrats led by Lenin, who aimed at securing peace abroad that they might carry on a class war at home. A Bolshevist rising drove Kerensky from Petrograd on November 7th, and within a few days " what there was left of government in Russia passed into the hands of a self-constituted Council of Peoples' Commissioners, with Lenin as its President and Trotsky as its Foreign Minister."[2] Lenin and Trotsky made

[1] Rasputin was shot by some of the nobles, December 29th, 1916.
[2] *A Short History of the Great War,* Pollard (Methuen), page 275.

peace with Germany by the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, March 14th, **1918,** which established German "protection" over Poland and Lithuania; they successfully resisted the attempts of the Cossacks to overthrow them, and by their policy brought ruin and famine upon their country.

C. The results.

(1) The Russian Revolution was a disaster of the first magnitude for the Allies. By the end of **1916** there was every reason to hope for an early victory for the Allies in the not distant future. The Revolution shattered that hope. The great plan of an Allied attack on the East and West, which had nearly proved successful in **1916,** could not be repeated in **1917.** The weakening of the pressure on the Russian front enabled Germany and Austria to send strong reinforcements to the Western and Italian fronts; released large forces of Turks for service in Palestine and Mesopotamia; sealed the fate of Roumania and added to the difficulties of the Salonika expedition. The net result was that the final victory of the Allies was postponed for at least twelve months, and finally gained at a far greater cost than would have been necessary if Russia had stood firm.

(2) But Ludendorff doubts whether the Russian Revolution proved in the long run an advantage for Germany. "Looking back, I say our decline began clearly with the outbreak of the revolution in Russia. On the one side the Government was dominated by the fear that the infection would spread, and on the other by the feeling of their helplessness to instil fresh strength into the masses of the people and to strengthen their warlike ardour, waning as it was through a combination of innumerable circumstances."

References:

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. LXXXI., LXXXIX., CVIII., CXII., CXVII., CXIX., CXX., CXXVII., CXXIX.

Three Years at the Russian Court. by Gullard. (Hutchinson.)

EGYPT AND PALESTINE

Egypt was declared a British protectorate in December, **1914,** and the pro-Turkish Khedive was deposed. Turkey was anxious to reconquer Egypt, once an important part of her empire, and hoped that the Mahommedans would welcome the opportunity of coming under the Sultan's rule and that the Nationalist party would support them against the British. They determined to attack the Suez Canal in order to hinder the passage of troops from India and Australia.

I. Turkish Attacks on the Suez Canal.

[Attacks on the western frontier of Egypt by the Senussi, an Arab brotherhood, were easily repulsed in December, **1915,** and January, **1916.**]

A. February 2nd-8th, **1915.** Complete failure of an attack through the middle of the Syrian desert on Ismalia, supported by an attack on El Kantara from El Arish by the northern route.

B. June, **1916.** The successful revolt of Arabia against Turkish rule delayed operations against the Canal.

C. August 4th 9th, **1916.** Utter rout at Romani, in the desert, of a Turkish army advancing from El Arish towards El Kantara.

The Canal was easy to defend owing to its high banks, the lack of cover to the east, the fact that it was deep enough to float war vessels, and the great difficulties of crossing the wide and waterless Syrian desert which divided the Canal from the nearest Turkish base.

II. The British Advance across the Syrian Desert.

Sir Archibald Murray, knowing that the Suez Canal was safe, and possessing in Egypt an excellent base, determined to adopt the offensive and attack the Turks in Palestine. His advance was facilitated by new roads, by the railway which was being constructed across the desert from El Kantara, and by the construction of a pipe-line to ensure the water supply.

December 20th, **1916.** The British occupy El Arish without opposition, thus gaining a most valuable forward base.

January 9th, **1917.** The British capture Rafa, on the frontier of Egypt and Syria.

III. Gaza.

The next step was the invasion of Palestine, and Murray determined to advance by the coast route, which allowed of co-operation by British warships, and not to advance inland against Beersheba and the Central Palestine Railway.

The defeated Turks fell back on Gaza, and Murray rightly thought that a surprise attack would probably prove successful.

A. First Battle of Gaza, March 26th–27th, **1917.**

Unfortunately, operations were sadly hampered by a thick sea fog, which delayed the advance and prevented a surprise. The Turks were badly beaten, but Murray failed to capture Gaza, although skilful planning operations enabled him to envelop the town.

B. The Second Battle of Gaza, April 17th, **1917.**

The Turks rushed in reinforcements, greatly strengthened the defences of Gaza and their positions to the south-east, thus checking a flanking movement. Murray's second attempt to capture Gaza failed for these reasons. It was an unfortunate end to a desert campaign which had been up to March a brilliant military success and a triumph of engineering.

IV. The Conquest of Palestine.

A. The capture of Jerusalem, December 9th, **1917.**

General Sir Edmund Allenby, who succeeded Murray, delayed his advance until the winter, by which time he had received sufficient reinforcements to attack the Turks strengthened by new troops whom the Russian revolution rendered no longer necessary in the Caucasus. He advanced in two directions, inland towards Beersheba and along the coast.

October 31st, **1917.** The Turks utterly routed at Beersheba ; their left flank turned.

November 7th–16th. Capture of Gaza, Askalon, and Jaffa ; the Turks right flank turned.

December 9th. Jerusalem, threatened from the north by British forces which had cut the Nablous road, and from the south by the army from Beersheba, surrendered. On December 11th Allenby entered the city on foot without any ceremony, formally notified his occupation of the city, and promised protection for the holy places of Mahommedans, Protestants, and Roman Catholics. He then withdrew.

To protect his line, and especially Jaffa and Jerusalem, the two ends, Allenby advanced about five miles north of Jaffa and about ten miles along the Nablous road, north of Jerusalem, and captured Jericho February 21st, **1918,** thus securing his right flank. But he failed to establish himself east of the Jordan, to cut the Hedjaz railway, or to effect a junction with the Arab forces of Feisal, the son of the King of the Hedjaz, who had been won over by Col. Lawrence. The crisis on the Western front[1] led to the departure in April of all the troops Allenby could spare and delayed further operations till September.

B. From Jerusalem to Aleppo, September 19th–October 26th, **1918.**

Allenby had received strong reinforcements of Indian troops from India and Mesopotamia and determined to strike before the winter rains. The Turkish lines ran from near Jaffa, through the hill country of Samaria, to the Jordan, and they had considerable forces east of the Jordan.

(1) Palestine.

September 19th, **1918.** Allenby determined to direct his main attack on the Turkish right. A brilliant and extraordinarily rapid cavalry advance through the Plain of Sharon, and then north-east through the plain of Esdraelon to Nazareth and Beisan, which were reached on September 20th, cut off the retreat of the Turks. A frontal attack towards Nablous broke the Turkish

[1] Page 1226.

centre, and their forces were soon in headlong flight to the Jordan. But a cavalry movement on the British right cut off their retreat, and the Turkish army in Palestine practically ceased to exist.

(2) East of the Jordan.

September 28th, **1918.** The Turks to the east of the Jordan were routed by the British and Feisul's Arabs.

(3) Damascus, October 1st, **1918.**

Allenby at once pushed his cavalry on towards Damascus. One part started from Tiberias, crossed the Jordan south of the Waters of Merom, passed Damascus about ten miles on the west, turned, and threatened the city from the north. The other joined Feisul at Deraa on September 28th, and the combined forces, marching due north, threatened Damascus from the south. Damascus surrendered October 1st.

(4) Aleppo, October 26th, **1918.**

The Turks were now a broken rabble and could offer no effective resistance. Allenby, who had secured all the coast towns (Haifa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrout), pushed on rapidly and concluded a most brilliant campaign by taking Aleppo October 26th.

V. **General.**

Murray had done excellent spade work by organising his forces, making the arrangements necessary for crossing the Syrian deserts, and securing advanced bases for the attack on Palestine. Allenby had in thirty-nine days (September 19th–October 26th) captured 75,000 prisoners and advanced 300 miles in country part of which was so difficult that, in an earlier operation, "one battery of field artillery took thirty-six hours to cover eight miles."[1]

Reference :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. XXXIX., CX., CXXXVI., CXLVII., CLXII.

[1] Buchan.

ITALY

I. General.

Although a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy had refused to support Germany and Austria in the war on the ground that their action had been offensive, and the Triple Alliance had been established solely for defence. The position of Italy was difficult. Austria admitted that she was bound to give compensation to Italy owing to her action in the Balkans and promised to restore after the war Italia Irredenta (the Trentino and Trieste), which had remained unredeemed from Austria. But this promise, though guaranteed by Germany, was too vague to satisfy Italy. Turkey, the friend of Germany, was hostile, and Turkish forces were still operating against Italy in Tripoli. Although Italy was most friendly towards Great Britain, the Allies favoured the establishment of the Jugo-Slavs on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, which Italy desired to secure for herself. This difficulty was removed by the Treaty of London, April 26th, **1915,** which admitted the Italian claims, and thereby irritated the Jugo-Slavs, who thought that the admission rendered impossible the establishment of a Greater Serbia. German influence was very strong in Italian commercial circles ; there was a strong political party which favoured neutrality ; the Papacy was supposed to favour Austria, and many Socialists in the cities were " Internationals." Italy was hampered by the lack of industrial facilities for providing munitions and by inadequate coal supplies.

May 22nd, **1915.** Italy declared war on Austria, not on Germany.

II. From the Outbreak of War to the Capture of Gorizia.

The Italian front extended for about 400 miles from the Stelvio Pass, on the borders of Switzerland, to Monfalcone, on the Gulf of Trieste. It consisted on the west of the Trentino salient, protected by the Ortler Spitz on the west and the Dolomites on the east ; in the centre the Carnic Alps ; on the east the Julian Alps, through which ran the River Isonzo. The mountains were high, rising in places to over 12,000 feet, and steep. The task of getting

heavy guns into position was most laborious; stores and provisions were sent up by aerial wireways, and the normal effect of gunfire was greatly heightened by the splintering of rocks due to high explosives. The cold in winter was intense, and the Italians in one section of the line had two hundred casualties from frostbite a day. On the glaciers the combatants often fought on skis, and the Italian Alpini and the Austrian Tyrolese fought with incredible heroism in circumstances of extraordinary difficulty.

The Austrians held the commanding points of the line, which they had very strongly fortified. They were in a position to offer a stubborn defence to any attack or to take the offensive against the Plain of Venice.

A. The first campaign, May–July, **1915.**

The Italians hoped by an early attack to force their way into Austria and to compel the Austrians to withdraw some of the forces which were opposing the Russians in Galicia.[1]

(1) Their main object was the capture of Trieste, and their immediate aim was to take Gorizia, the key of the Eastern front. But their first campaign failed to capture Gorizia, although they took Monte Nero, to the north, Monfalcone (June 9th) and the western bank of the Isonzo, to the south, and secured a precarious hold on part of the Carso Plateau between Gorizia and Trieste.

(2) In order to prevent the army on the Isonzo front from being taken in the flank and to lessen the danger of an Austrian invasion, the Italians attacked in the Trentino, in the Dolomites (where they captured Cortina on May 30th), and in the Carnic Alps. They succeeded in driving the Austrians back along the whole line, but the difficulties of the position prevented them from making a substantial advance.

[August 21st. Italy declared war on Turkey.]

B. The second campaign, May–August, **1916.**

(1) The Austrian thrust towards Venice, May 14th–June 30th.

On May 14th the Austrians made a powerful thrust from Trent

[1] Page 1182.

towards Venice; by May 30th they had advanced in the centre about twelve miles to the line Asiero-Asiago, and the danger became acute. But General Cadorna brought up strong reinforcements, Brussilov's advance in Galicia led to the withdrawal of considerable Austrian forces from the Italian front, the Austrians were driven back, and by the end of June had lost most of the ground they had gained in May.

(2) The capture of Gorizia, August 9th, **1916.**

August 4th. A feint from Monfalcone towards the Carso led the Austrians to weaken their forces at Gorizia.

August 6th–8th. The capture of Monte Sabotino and Monte St. Michele, the heights commanding Gorizia, led to the fall of that town on August 9th.

[August 28th. Italy declared war on Germany.]

III. **Caporetto, October 24th, 1917.**

A. Progress on the Eastern front, August, **1916**–June, **1917.**

During this period the Italians made important advances in the centre of the line, but the difficulties of General Cadorna's task compelled him to ask for help from Great Britain and France in July, **1917.** Some British batteries were sent, but no troops could be spared from the Western front. By the capture of most of the Bainsizza Plateau, north of Gorizia, in August, **1917,** the Italians improved their position, but, though they advanced towards Trieste, their way was barred by the strong fortress of Hermada, which they failed to take.

B. Meanwhile Italy was being weakened by internal dissensions. The Pope had deprecated the continuance of "useless slaughter," Socialists and Bolshevist envoys urged the troops not to fight against their proletariat brethren in the Austrian army, serious riots broke out in Turin and the rioters were sent to Caporetto on the Isonzo front, where they won many converts. The chief points in the Isonzo line were now north and north-west of the Bainsizza Plateau, at Plezzo, Caporetto, held by the Second Army, and Tolmino. The Third Army, under the Duke of Aosta, held the western portion of the Carso.

The downfall of Russia released many German and Austrian troops for service on the Isonzo, and the best of these were trained in shock tactics : picked men made a surprise attack, supported quickly by reserves and by many machine guns.

C. October 24th, **1917.** A sudden attack by German troops in fog and snow shattered the Italian Second Army at Caporetto. Many Italians, demoralised by insidious propaganda, surrendered voluntarily ; some reserves refused to fight, and Cadorna justly complained of the " naked treason " that contributed largely to the disaster. The armies at Tolmino and Plezzo had to withdraw owing to the failure at Caporetto ; the Austrians quickly overran the Bainsizza Plateau ; Gorozia fell on the 28th ; and on the 29th the Germans entered Udine, Cadorna's advance base. Only a brilliant retreat enabled the Duke of Aosta to save the Third Army. In five days the Italians lost 200,000 prisoners.

D. The pursuit.

The Italians, hotly pursued by the victorious Austrians and Germans, got across the Tagliamento on November 1st, and by the 10th had reached the Piave, where General Diaz, who had succeeded Cadorna, determined to make a stand. His position was difficult. He was attacked on the river front and also from the north along the Brenta Valley. But the defence, which was helped by British and French forces, held out, and by the end of the year the position from the Asiago Plateau to the mouth of the Piave was firmly established and Venice remained uncaptured.

E. General.

The battle of Caporetto greatly weakened Italy, encouraged the Austrians to continue the war, and showed the Germans the value of their new tactics. But the danger united Italy, and the Allied Conference of Rapallo, near Genoa (November 5th), not only made arrangements for helping Italy, but laid the foundation of the unification of command which was to prove so effective on the Western front in **1918.**

IV. **The Italian Victory, 1918.**

A. The Austrian attack in June.

During the winter the Italian forces had been greatly strengthened and were ready for the expected attack.

The Austrians attacked along the whole line, but there were two points of special importance.

(1) June 15th. Failure of an attack on the Asiago Plateau, where British troops checked the Austrians.

(2) June 16th. The Austrians crossed the Piave and secured part of the commanding position of Montello on the west bank. A sudden flood in the river prevented the Austrian reserves from crossing, and the Italians, by the end of the month, regained all they had lost in June.

B. The final victory, October 23rd–31st, **1918.**

Diaz deceived the enemy by a strong feint at Monte Grappa on the west of the line and delivered his main attack in the middle of the Piave, although the river was in flood.

October 23rd. A British force, wearing Italian uniforms to deceive the enemy, seized the large island of Grave di Papadopoli in the middle of the river, established themselves on the eastern bank, and built bridges over which the Italians poured. The Austrian army was split in two and utterly routed along the whole line, with a loss of 300,000 prisoners. By the armistice of November 4th the Austrians agreed to cease hostilities, disband their armies, and allow the Allies to advance through Austro-Hungary against Germany.

Reference :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. LVI., LXIV., CIV., CIX., CXXXVII., CXLV., CLVI., CLXV.

THE WESTERN FRONT IN 1917

I. General.

A. During the winter months of **1916–17** Haig made preparations for an early offensive. The army was reinforced with men, guns, and munitions; and communications were improved by Sir Eric Geddes, who removed rails from English railways and used them to construct many miles of light railways behind the Western front. From January to March, **1917,** the British steadily advanced along the Ancre, taking Grandcourt February 7th, and Serre February 25th. Bapaume was occupied March 17th, and Peronne March 18th.

B. The Germans, realising that much of their position was dominated by the British from the Thiepval Plateau, and sadly shaken by the First Battle of the Somme, fell back on the Siegfried (or Hindenburg) line, which had been strengthened by Russian prisoners under Hindenburg's orders, and which, being shorter than the old line, could be held with smaller forces. To hinder pursuit they ruined the country, destroying every building and bridge, blowing up roads, defiling wells, even desecrating graves and cutting down young fruit trees. Hindenburg hoped to get time to reorganise his forces in his new lines and to secure the offensive. But the British engineers repaired roads and bridges with extraordinary speed, and, although Hindenburg conducted his retreat with great skill, the British, in spite of delay caused by the new plan of campaign, by April 4th were in front of the Siegfried line and holding the Germans so strongly that Hindenburg could not take the offensive. The new German line ran from Tilloy-les-Mofflaines, near Arras, west of Cambrai and St. Quentin, to the Aisne, near Soissons. The Wotan, a switch line behind the Siegfried, ran from Drocourt to Quéant.

C. But a new plan of campaign,[1] formed by General Nivelle, who now succeeded Joffre, and Lloyd George, and proposing "that the French should do more and the British Army less than

[1] *Intrigues of the War*, General Maurice, page 16.

had been proposed by Joffre," seriously hampered operations. It involved the lengthening of the British line to allow of French concentration on the Aisne, and delayed Haig's main attack until April. It thus gave the Germans two months to recover from their defeat on the Somme, and enabled them to retreat to the Hindenburg line. But for this unfortunate change of plans, " the Germans would have been heavily punished before the untimely break in the weather of August, **1917,** which involved us in the muddy horror of Passchendaele ; we should have left the Germans no leisure to prepare the attack on Italy, we might have prevented the complete collapse of the Russian armies, which did not take place until July, **1917,** and the victory in **1917** which Kitchener had prophesied might well have been realised."[1]

D. [April 6th, **1917.** The United States declared war on Germany owing to the loss of American ships and lives through unrestricted submarine warfare. The declaration was in direct opposition to the Monroe Doctrine, which involved the principle of non-intervention in European warfare. The support of the United States to some extent compensated for the loss of the co-operation of Russia which resulted from the Russian Revolution.]

I. The Battle of Arras, April 9th 11th, 1917.

Haig's object was to attack on both banks of the Ancre, to take the Vimy Ridge on the north, and to turn the end of the Siegfried[2] line at Tilloy-les-Mofflaines. The French under Nivelle were to attack the southern end of the Siegfried line on the Aisne and hoped to capture Laon.

The preparations for the battle included the construction in the cellars of Arras of practically an underground city, affording a safe retreat to three divisions.

A. The opening stage, April 9th–11th.

After heavy and effective artillery preparation, supported by aerial reconnaissance, Haig attacked on a front of twelve miles with conspicuous success.

[1] *Ibid.*, page 17.
[2] The British usually call this the Hindenburg line.

April 9th 11th. North of the Scarpe the Canadians secured Vimy Ridge at the first assault; south of the Scarpe Tilloy-les-Mofflaines and two miles of the Siegfried line were taken. The capture of Monchy-le-Preux, commanding the road to Cambrai, enabled Haig to advance his line some five miles to Farbus-Monchy. Tanks facilitated the capture of the Harp, a very strong position at Tilloy.

B. April 11th–May 17th, **1917.**

Haig desired to reserve his forces for a great offensive in Flanders, but continued his operations round Arras to prevent the Germans from concentrating their forces against Nivelle on the Aisne. The British line was advanced, about seven miles of the Siegfried position were taken, and the capture of Roeux (May 14th) and Bullecourt (by the Australians on May 17th) threatened the end of the Drocourt–Quéant switch.

The British advance during this period was hindered by the new German "pill boxes." These consisted of small isolated machine-gun stations made of reinforced concrete three feet thick and roofed with a steel cap. They proved very difficult to take and cost us many casualties.

C. The French on the Aisne, April 18th to the beginning of June.

These operations formed a most important part of the Nivelle plan.

Although the French drove the Germans across the Aisne, captured the important position of Chemin-des-Dames, and gained a considerable victory at Moronvilliers (May 20th), Nivelle failed to carry out his object and did not get within reach of Laon. The failure of Nivelle was a disaster of the first magnitude and caused deep depression in the army and people. Mutinies broke out at the front, and the military power of France was crippled for months. He was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief of the northern French armies by Petain on May 15th, who "had to call on Haig to keep the Germans occupied while he restored the *morale* of his troops."[1]

[1] General Maurice.

D. General.

(1) Nivelle's great scheme, which aimed at a break through the German line on a great scale, proved a failure, and his failure emphasised the correctness of the theory of a limited objective and the necessity of wearing down the enemy further before undertaking more ambitious operations.

(2) The Battle of Arras itself was a great British victory. It made Arras safe. The capture of the Vimy Ridge marks the first step in that attempt to secure the higher ground commanding the German positions which formed a prominent feature of British strategy on the Western front in **1917.**

(3) The combination of the Russian Revolution and Nivelle's failure ruined what had seemed an excellent opportunity of a great Allied advance.

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. CXXXIII., CXXXIV., and CXXXV.

The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1917, by Doyle, chaps. I., II., and III.

Intrigues of the War, by Maurice.
(Reprinted from the *Westminster Gazette.*)

II. **The Battle of Messines, June 7th, 1917.**

A. The battle.

For two years General Plumer had achieved the impossible by holding the Ypres salient, which was commanded by the Messines Ridge. The ridge must be captured before Haig could carry out his intention of attacking the Germans in front of Ypres. For some twelve months the British had been mining the ridge, and at 3.10 a.m. on June 7th a huge quantity of ammonal was exploded in nineteen mines. The explosion and the concentrated artillery fire of 2750 guns wiped out the enemy's first line, and Ludendorff admits that " the moral effect of the explosions was simply staggering." The British infantry, advancing close behind

a creeping barrage, captured the whole of the ridge. The Battle of Messines was one of the greatest tactical successes of the war and afforded convincing proof of the value of a limited objective following careful preparations.

B. The results.

But the British advance, which should have followed immediately, was held up for seven weeks, and owing to this the full effect of the victory was lost. The Germans did not retire from the Belgian coast or on the Lille front. Practically the only result was the formation of a salient which was wiped out in the German advance of April, **1918.**

[June 25th. **1917.** The first American division of 30,000 men landed in France.]

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chap. CXL.

The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1917. chap. IV.

III. The Third Battle of Ypres, July 31st November 6th, 1917.

Haig hoped to launch a strong attack in the summer which would turn the German right and regain the Belgian coast. A successful advance from the Ypres salient towards Bruges might attain this object besides ensuring the safety of Ypres. A necessary part of the operation was the capture of Passchendaele Ridge, which, with the Messines and Vimy Ridges already captured, would give the British commanding positions over Flanders. The French Army, disheartened by Nivelle's failure, was not in a position to undertake operations in the south, and it was necessary for the British to engage the Germans on the north.

On July 31st the Belgians held the line Nieuport–Dixmude–Noordschote, the greater part consisting of the left bank of the Yser Canal; the French continued the line to Boesinge; the British line ran from Boesinge, west of Wieltje, Hooge, and Hollebeke to the River Lys.

The Germans knew of the intended attack; they strengthened their position with many "pill boxes" connected by wire entanglements, and collected picked forces, or "shock" troops, for immediate counter-attacks. By a successful attack on July 10th they captured an important bridgehead near Nieuport and prevented Rawlinson's Fourth Army from capturing the coast-line and turning their left flank.

A. The first advance, July 31st–August 10th, **1917.**

A general advance, following the heaviest bombardment up to date and assisted by showers of blazing oil and a new form of devilry known as thermit, was made on a front of about thirteen miles from Dixmude to the Lys and proved successful. The French on the left took Bixschoote and Steenstraate; the left centre took Pilkem, but failed to reach Langemarke, took (but failed to hold) St. Julien and Frezenburg; the right centre took Hooge and also took (but failed to hold) Westhoek; on the right the line advanced to Klein Zillebeke and Hollebeke. A good start had been made, and an immediate advance, before the Germans recovered from the shock, was essential.

Then followed continuous rain for four days and nights. The clay soil became a sea of mud in which the tanks could not advance, the transport of heavy guns became impossible, and aerial reconnaissance was stopped. The advance was held up; the Germans seized the opportunity to consolidate their defence, and large reinforcements were brought from the Eastern front. The weather again robbed the Allies of what might have proved a decisive victory.

Subsequent operations led to the capture of St. Julien (August 3rd) and Westhoek (August 10th).

B. The second advance, August 16th, **1917.**

This was an offensive on the northern half of the salient. Ground was gained and Langemark captured; but the British suffered so many casualties, chiefly from "pill boxes," that this operation must be regarded as unsuccessful.

[August 20th–27th. Great French victory at Verdun.]

C. The third advance, September 20th–October 3rd, **1917.**

The third advance was made from the line Langemarck–Westhoek–Klein Zillebeke, i.e. against the whole German front, and particularly along the Menin road. The objective was limited, and the successful troops remained fresh enough to resist successfully the German counter-attacks. The weather improved, but the mud hampered progress.

(1) September 20th. A vigorous attack enabled the British to advance about three-quarters of a mile and to establish their line from Veldhoek (on the Menin road, where the fighting was fiercest) to Zevenkote.

(2) September 26th. Capture of Polygon Wood and Zonnebeke.

D. The fourth advance, October 4th–12th, **1917.**

The attack was made in a heavy storm at 6 a.m., and three German divisions which had assembled for an attack at 6.10 a.m. were annihilated. Poelcapelle, part of Houthulst Wood, and the lower part of Passchendaele Ridge on the north, Broodseinde to the east of Zonnebeke, were taken and an advance was made upon the Menin road nearly to Gheluvelt.

E. The fifth advance, October 22nd–November 6th, **1917.**

November 6th. The Canadians captured the village of Passchendaele, and the British secured the top of the ridge.

[October 23rd. Great French victory at Malmaison on the Aisne, complete capture of Chemin-des-Dames.]

F. General.

(1) The battle was a strategic failure. It failed to turn the right wing of the Germans or to free the Channel ports. But it freed Ypres from danger and, by widening the salient, relieved the troops in it from German crossfire. The capture of Passchendaele Ridge secured an important commanding position.

(2) The failure was due solely to the weather, which made any advance a matter of the greatest difficulty. Impassable mud and

unfordable craters covered the whole German front. Our men advanced from slime into slime. Men who lost the track of duckboards were sometimes drowned in mud which even on the track was sometimes knee deep; rifles were covered with flannel to prevent them from being clogged with mud.

(3) The German "pill boxes" caused many casualties. But towards the end of the battle new tactics proved effective. High-explosive shells, though rarely making a direct hit, shook their foundations; picked marksmen kept up a steady fire at the embrasures, and under cover of this others crept near enough to destroy the garrison with bombs or revolvers.

(4) The losses were appalling and amounted to 10,000 on October 4th alone. In attacking a position guarded by "pill boxes" one regiment lost 17 officers out of 21 and 64 per cent of their men. The staff work again was the subject of bitter criticism, and our heavy losses facilitated the German offensive of March and April, 1918.

References:

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. CXL., CXLI.
The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1917, chaps. III.–IX.
From Bapaume to Passchendaele, by Gibbs. (Heinemann.)
Realities of War, by Gibbs, Part VII. (Heinemann.)

IV. The Battle of Cambrai, November 20th December 7th, 1917.

Haig resolved to attack another portion of the German line before troops could be brought from Ypres, before further reinforcements came from the Eastern front, and to check the despatch of German troops to strengthen the Austrians on the Piave.[1] A break through at Cambrai, followed by an advance to Bourlon, might have rendered possible an attack on the Belgian coast from a new position. It is possible, too, that Haig was anxious to do something to make up for the failure of the Third Battle of Ypres.

[1] Page 1208.

A. The British attack.

The British, under General Sir Julian Byng, attacked the Siegfried or Hindenburg line in front of Cambrai on a stretch of eight miles from Hermes to Gonnelieu on the Arras-St. Quentin front.

November 20th. Without a preliminary bombardment four hundred tanks, which had been successfully concealed, and carried faggots to fill up holes in their way, advanced rapidly over the dry ground and caught the Germans completely by surprise. The infantry followed and, helped by a heavy barrage, advanced about seven miles in twelve hours and took a large portion of the Siegfried line and also the reserve line behind it. The cavalry were sent forward, but were held up by a broken bridge at Masnières, and we failed to carry the vital position of Bourlon Wood on the Bapaume Cambrai road. The tanks, too, were held up at Flesquières by the heroism of a German artillery officer who, serving his gun single-handed, "destroyed sixteen by direct hits."[1]

These checks gave the Germans time to bring up reinforcements and prevented the "break through" we hoped to effect.

B. The German counter-attack, November 30th.

The Germans had been heavily reinforced; our men, many of whom had fought at Ypres, were tired out; our reserves were inadequate. A violent attack by huge masses of Germans on our two flanks met with stubborn resistance at Bourlon Wood, but easily captured Gonnelieu and Gouzeaucourt, where some British officers, roused from bed by the sudden attack, were captured in their pyjamas. By heroic efforts the broken line was reformed, but we were compelled to evacuate much of the recently captured territory, although we kept the Siegfried reserve line.

References:

Nelson's History of the War, chap. CXLVIII.

The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1917, chaps. X. and XI.

[1] Doyle.

NAVAL OPERATIONS AFTER THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

The majority of the German Fleet got safe home after the Battle of Jutland; they put to sea again on August 19th, **1916**, but withdrew on the approach of the British and came out again only to surrender on November 21st, **1918**. But the necessity of guarding against their possible action compelled the Admiralty to maintain the Grand Fleet at full strength, in spite of the urgent need of destroyers to fight the submarines.

I. The German Submarines.

At the beginning of the war Germany possessed only twenty submarines, but the value of these craft led to a great increase in their number. The newer German submarines had a radius of 12,000 miles and a speed of twelve knots under water; they could remain under water for fourteen days at a time, and were able to extend their operations beyond the narrow seas. In July, **1916**, the *Deutschland* reached the United States.

A. The extension of their efforts.

(1) In spite of some successes, especially the destruction of the *Cressy*, *Aboukir*, and *Hogue* on September 22nd, **1914**,[1] the Germans found that submarines could not make much impression on the Grand Fleet, and on February 4th, **1915**, they proclaimed a submarine blockade, used submarines against Allied and neutral shipping, and asserted the impossibility of always giving warning before attack. In such conditions it was impossible to tow their prizes into port or to ensure the safety of passengers and crews of merchant ships, and the United States protested that the new plan "was irreconcilable with the principles of humanity." When submarines sank ships and fired on crews who had taken to the boats, rammed boats in which crews were escaping, and torpedoed hospital ships clearly marked with the Red Cross,

[1] Page 1144.

they showed to the world "a whole service practising murder under deliberate orders."[1]

On March 1st, **1915,** Britain proclaimed a counter-blockade of German ports and asserted the right of arresting on the high seas neutral ships suspected of carrying contraband of war and of taking them to a British port for examination. Serious difficulties arose with the United States, which protested against this interference with the "freedom of the seas."

March 28th, **1915.** The Elder Dempster Line *Falaba* torpedoed. 111 drowned.

May 7th, **1915.** The Cunard passenger ship *Lusitania* torpedoed off the Old Head of Kinsale; 1134, including many women and children and some American citizens, drowned out of 1906 on board. The Germans asserted that the *Lusitania* was carrying munitions, but this was disproved at a judicial inquiry held at New York. The destruction of the *Lusitania* strengthened the cause of the Allies in America and relieved the tension between Great Britain and the United States.

December 30th, **1915.** The P. and O. liner *Persia* torpedoed in the Mediterranean, 335 drowned.

March 24th, **1916.** The passenger steamer *Sussex*, plying between Folkestone and Dieppe, torpedoed, one hundred lives lost.

July 27th, **1916.** Captain Fryatt shot for trying to ram a U-boat which captured the Harwich steamer *Brussels*.

November 21st, **1916.** The hospital ship *Britannic*, carrying 1000 wounded from Salonica, torpedoed in broad daylight, in spite of the prominent display of the Red Cross.

(2) Sinking at sight and without trace.

In May, **1916,** Germany had promised the United States that ships should not be sunk without warning, but on January 31st, **1917,** she declared her intention of sinking at sight every ship found in British and French waters. A number of American ships were sunk, and President Wilson asserted that "vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without

[1] Newbolt.

warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board." On April 6th, **1917,** America declared war on Germany.

June 27th, **1917.** The hospital ship *Llandovery Castle* torpedoed. The total number of women, children, and non-combatants murdered in the course of the U-boat blockade amounted to more than 17,000.

The new policy nearly paralyzed our overseas transport and seriously hampered our importation of foodstuffs and war material. The losses in British, Allied, and neutral shipping rose from 122,793 tons in May, **1916,** to 327,245 tons in November, and to a maximum of 870,359 tons in April, **1917.** During the first quarter of **1917** over 2,200,000 tons of shipping were lost, of which 1,361,870 tons were British, and the total for the year was 6,000,000 tons. "The danger which confronted the British peoples was never so great in any previous period as it was during the year **1917,** when the submarine menace was at its height, and there is no doubt whatever that, had the German craft engaged in the unrestricted submarine warfare been manned by British officers and men, adopting German methods, there would have been but few Allied or neutral merchant ships left afloat by the end of 1917."[1]

B. British counter-measures.

The grave danger from German submarines and two successful "tip and run" attacks on the Channel flotilla led to the appointment of Sir John Jellicoe as First Sea Lord on December 4th, **1917.** His efforts were seriously hampered by the need of guarding against a sortie by the German Fleet and by lack of mines and minelayers, but under his direction the newly formed Anti-Submarine Division adopted new measures which ultimately proved successful.

(1) Convoys.

In spite of heavy losses from submarines and surface vessels, the amount of merchant shipping afloat was large. In October, **1917,** 1660 vessels passed along the North East coast, and from

[1] Lord Jellicoe.

80 to 100 passed Dover daily in **1917.** There was heavy traffic across the sea from Holland, Scandinavia, and Gibraltar.

The Scandinavian convoy was started in the autumn of **1916,** the North Atlantic in May, **1917,** and the Gibraltar in July, **1917.** Although the number of destroyers was inadequate, it was increased by the arrival of six American destroyers in May, **1917.** The convoys were graded according to speed—slow, 8–12½ knots ; fast, 12½–16. In September, **1917,** about 150 ships sailed every eight days in convoys of from twelve to thirty ships.

(2) Mines.

Enemy harbours were blocked with mines after an adequate supply was secured about April, **1917.** In the last quarter of **1917** 10,389 mines were laid in Heligoland Bight and the Straits of Dover.

Mine-sweepers were more largely used. In December, **1917,** there were 3084 British patrol ships and mine-sweepers at work, and these swept up 355 mines a month with an average loss of ten ships. The new paravanes saved at least fifty surface ships from enemy mines.

(3) Various.

More merchant ships were armed, and practically all were camouflaged ; shells were improved ; star shells and smoke apparatus were largely used ; the hydrophone assisted in the detection of submarines ; a greater use was made of depth charges, each containing 300 lbs. of explosive and able to destroy a submarine at a distance of fourteen and to disable at a distance of about fifty feet ; Q-boats, disguised special service ships, did excellent work,[1] destroying eleven submarines and damaging eighty ; and in **1917** our aircraft sighted 161 submarines and attacked ninety.

(4) Result.

Lord Jellicoe gives the total number of U-boats sunk as 185, and this service became so dangerous that the Germans found

[1] See Newbolt, chap XIV., for most interesting details.

great difficulty in manning their submarines. The convoys proved very successful; the losses of ships convoyed for the later months of **1917** were ·93 for the American convoy, 2·5 for the Gibraltar, 1·1 for the Scandinavian, and only ·16 for the French coal trade. Out of the first million American soldiers brought across the Atlantic under convoy only 126 were killed by U-boats. In the first six months of **1918** one hundred German craft were sunk in the Bight of Heligoland.

II. The Dover Patrol.

A. The work of the Patrol.

By means of "tip-and-run" raids the Germans occasionally did some damage to shipping in the Downs and English and French coast towns—Margate, Ramsgate, Lowestoft, the last being bombarded for the third time on January 14th, **1918.** The Harwich and Dover Patrols were established partly to meet this danger. They had also to supply convoys for cross-Channel passages, to maintain the forty-seven miles of mined nets which protected the Straits of Dover, to guard the Port of London and the French coast, to make raids on Zeebrugge and Ostend, to bombard the German positions along the Dunes, to bomb nearly every day the "Hot Triangle" Nieuport–Ostend–Zeebrugge, to lay mines and sweep up enemy mines, to land heavy guns at Dunkirk, and to protect the left flank of the Allied army from a landing in the rear.

It was impossible to prevent occasional German successes, but on April 20th, **1917,** the destroyers *Broke* and *Swift* defeated six German destroyers, sank two, and seriously damaged the rest. Equally valuable, though less spectacular, was other service rendered by this Patrol. In **1917** it destroyed 755 mines; in **1917** only fifteen daily sailings between Folkestone and Boulogne were missed; on November 9th, **1916,** 169 bombs were dropped on Ostend and Zeebrugge; in two years and nine months the Patrol passed 120,000 merchant ships through the Narrows with a loss of fifty mined and one sunk by enemy gunfire; and in the same period 5,600,000 troops were passed across the Straits without the loss of a single life.

B. The attack on Zeebrugge.

The German bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend, which were only 75 and 63 miles respectively from Dover, constituted a real danger. Both were strongly fortified; the U-boats came from their base at Bruges along the Bruges canal into the harbour at Zeebrugge, which was protected by a mole a mile and a half long, connected with the land by a wooden viaduct. If Ostend and Zeebrugge were captured or made untenable, the Germans would be compelled to remove their naval base to Emden, three hundred miles away, and the danger to the Channel shipping would be greatly diminished. Repeated bombings and persistent bombardment from the sea had done great damage, but not closed either harbour, and therefore, on St. George's Day, April 23rd, **1918,** an attempt was made to sink ships in the Bruges Canal and the mouth of Ostend harbour, and so prevent the passage of submarines.

(1) Zeebrugge.

The immediate object of the attack was to block the Bruges Canal by sinking in its mouths three old cruisers—*Thetis*, *Iphigenia*, and *Intrepid*—which were filled with concrete. To enable them to enter the harbour the mole was to be attacked, and to prevent reinforcements being sent to the mole the viaduct connecting it with the mainland was to be blown up.

The mole had a battery of six guns, and the coast defences included 120 heavy guns which commanded the approach to Zeebrugge and had a range of sixteen miles. A night attack was essential—this increased the danger from enemy mines—and wind, weather, and tide had to be favourable.

Vice-Admiral Roger Keyes' force, manned by eager volunteers, numbered seventy-five ships, including a number of fast motor launches. On going into action he gave the signal "St. George for England"; *Vindictive* replied, "May we give the Dragon's tail a damned good twist."

The attack was covered by a thick smoke screen, but a most unlucky change of wind blew it aside just before the cruiser *Vindictive* reached the mole, and then "it seemed as though the skies had broken up; that night was falling upon us in ever-

lasting wrath and the mouth of Hades lay right beneath our bows." But the *Vindictive* was pressed close to the mole by an old Mersey ferryboat, the *Daffodil*, and the mole was carried, all its works destroyed and its garrison slain. The survivors of the attacking party re-embarked on the *Vindictive*. An old submarine carrying explosives equivalent to forty mines was driven between the piles of the viaduct and blown up; her crew of six escaped in a motor boat. After entering the harbour, *Thetis* ran aground and was sunk near the canal mouth, but *Intrepid* and *Iphigenia* were blown up well in the canal, which they effectively blocked with solid masses of concrete.

The attacking force, covered by a smoke screen, retired at 1.30 a.m. in order to get out of the range of the shore batteries before dawn, having lost a destroyer and two motor boats and completely succeeded in their hazardous undertaking.

(2) Ostend.

(*a*) An attack was made on Ostend at the same time as Zeebrugge. But a change in the wind blew away the smoke screens which concealed the flares placed by our motor boats to mark the entrance to the harbour, and the cruisers *Brilliant* and *Sirius* were blown up 2000 yards east of the harbour which they were meant to block.

(*b*) May 9th, **1918.** A second expedition resulted in the sinking of the *Vindictive* in Ostend harbour. "Her work was done."

III. The Surrender of the German Fleet.

The *morale* of the German sailors had been weakened by the success of our anti-submarine campaign, and "Zeebrugge and Ostend were the last nails in the coffin of the German Navy."[1] On November 3rd, **1918,** the German Fleet was ordered out of Kiel; the sailors mutinied, and many went to Berlin, where they materially helped the outbreak of the revolution.

The armistice provided that all German submarines were to be surrendered, and they were given up off Harwich in batches of twenty, beginning November 20th. On the same day nine

[1] Buchan.

German battleships, seven light cruisers, and four battle-cruisers left Kiel, sailed the next morning between two lines of our Grand Fleet, the crews of which were at action stations with loaded guns, and, carefully watched by aeroplanes and airships, sailed into the Firth of Forth. Sir David Beatty seized the occasion to give "testimony to the prestige and efficiency of the [British Grand] Fleet without parallel in history."

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. CXXIII., CLIV., CLXVII.
The Crisis of the Naval War, by Jellicoe. (Cassell and Co.)
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THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE

March and April, **1918.**

By the beginning of **1918** the Germans had become weary of the war owing partly to the restriction of food that resulted from the British blockade, partly to their heavy losses and the effect on public sentiment of the Allied propaganda. The submarine campaign had failed to starve Britain into surrender and American reinforcements were being rapidly prepared. The German leaders therefore resolved on a great offensive on the Western front. They brought half a million men from the Eastern front, which had collapsed owing to the Russian Revolution, and considerable forces from Italy and the Balkans and raised their strength to 192 divisions ; their numbers became so great that Ludendorff contemplated without much misgiving a possible loss of one and a half million men in his great attempt. Their artillery was strengthened by many guns from the Russian and

other fronts and from Austria. Their possession of the internal lines of communication and ample railway facilities enabled them to concentrate at will on chosen objectives.

The plan of campaign was to drive a wedge between the French and British along the valley of the Oise, to drive the latter across the Somme towards their naval bases of Calais and Dunkirk, and to hold them up while the French were being crushed. The plan necessitated rapid execution both for its own success and because every day brought nearer the arrival of the Americans. Ludendorff resolved to break the Allied line with spear heads of specially picked shock troops, well equipped with machine guns and bombs. After piercing the line these troops were to widen the breach by attacks on the exposed flanks of the Allies; fresh troops would be poured into the wider breach and, it was hoped, get through the line.

A very serious view of the danger was taken by the Allies. The French decided that "the whole of the Pas de Calais province was to be destroyed, the harbours of Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne wrecked, the dykes and locks destroyed so that the country would have been generally inundated" if the Allied armies were driven back to the Calais-St. Omer line, or if the Germans succeeded in dividing the British and French forces by an advance along the line of the Somme.

Haig, at the request of the French, had recently taken over the front from St. Quentin to La Fère and was holding a line of 125 miles with inadequate troops and with scanty reserves. Three hundred and fifty thousand troops who were urgently needed in France had been kept in England to resist invasion—which the British Fleet rendered impossible. On the south of his line Haig arranged a forward zone consisting of a lightly held front which was to be relinquished when the enemy attacked, and behind this a number of strong machine-gun positions well protected by barbed wire. A stronger battle zone was organised behind the forward zone and behind the battle zone lay the third, or defensive zone, which, in spite of strenuous efforts, was not ready when the attack began. It was hoped that the forward zone would break up the attack and that the battle zone would hold it. Haig decided that the north of the line in Flanders

required the strongest defence as there was a comparatively small manœuvring space behind, and hoped that the devastation of the area around the Somme in 1917 would hinder the expected German attack in that quarter. A bridgehead was being made at Peronne to defend the passage of the Somme. The British position was gravely weakened by the fact that dry weather had so lowered the water in the rivers that the Oise was too shallow to form an effective defence, and the Somme was fordable in many places.

I. **The Second Battle of the Somme, March 21st–April 4th, 1918.**

Half a million Germans attacked the British line of fifty-four miles from the Scarpe to the Oise. The northern portion of the line, from the Scarpe to near Demicourt, was held by Byng's Third Army; the southern, the longest and weakest, was held by Gough's Fifth Army, consisting of only fourteen divisions.

Covered by an intense barrage and preceded by clouds of mustard gas and phosgene sixty-four German divisions began the "Kaiser's Battle," the first stage in their "Peace Offensive." Twenty-four divisions attacked the Third and part of the Fifth Army and ample reserves were at hand to support the attack. An opportune fog enabled them easily to break through the forward zone and, in some places, the two other lines of defence.

March 21st.

A. Third Army.

In the extreme north the Germans took the front line, but failed to advance further. In the centre they took Bullecourt in the forward zone, Lagnicourt in the battle zone, and the front trenches on the right of the Third Army. The pressure on the centre compelled Byng to withdraw his right and left in order to maintain the line, although the extreme left between the Rivers Scarpe and Sensée was successfully held and served as the pivot of the line. The Third Army extended its line to Equancourt to relieve the Fifth, and the Germans, striking hard at a gap between the two, took much of the third line, including Mory and Heninel, March 23rd. The Third Army continuing its

retreat (partly owing to the pressure of the enemy, who during the first week threw twenty-five divisions of reserves into the line, partly owing to the necessity of maintaining alignment with the rapidly retreating Fifth Army), evacuated Bapaume and crossed the Ancre, March 24th. On March 26th the Germans entered Albert, but were prevented from advancing further; the Third Army by March 27th was firmly established on a line which ran slightly east of Arras, through Hebuterne and immediately west of Albert.

March 28th. Utter failure of a German attack on Arras from the Scarpe Valley.

B. The Fifth Army.

Gough's position was far weaker than Byng's. He had only fourteen divisions with which to resist forty. His extreme right was weakened by the drying up of the marshes of the Oise, his centre by the low water of the Somme; his reserves were far too small. The Germans hoped to turn the right wing, thus cutting off the Fifth Army from the French; to drive a wedge between the Third and Fifth Armies, cut the Amiens-Paris railway line and thus hinder the arrival of reinforcements, and to capture Amiens.

March 21st–22nd. The Germans struck west from Catelet, south-west from St. Quentin, and in the south crossed the Oise. The front line of defence collapsed at once. Gough's centre was driven beyond the defensive zone, a wide breach was made on the Oise and his right flank was withdrawn west of the Crozat Canal.[1] By March 22nd some French reinforcements, including cavalry and cyclists, had arrived, and their mobility and the heroic efforts of French airmen did something to hinder the German advance.

March 23rd. Gough, desperately hard pressed, abandoned the incomplete bridge-head at Peronne. The Germans crossed the Crozat Canal, captured Ham and crossed the Somme. The gap of about eight miles which now appeared at Mory between the Third and Fifth Armies imperilled both. [The Germans

[1] Joining the Somme and the Oise.

bombarded Paris with Big Bertha, a huge gun firing a 300-lb. shell from a distance of seventy-five miles.]

March 24th. The Germans captured Peronne at the bend of the Somme, and Combles.

March 25th. The Germans captured Nozon on the extreme right, drove back the centre at Chaulnes and made strenuous efforts to break through on the Somme. But a scratch force of 2200 men, including 500 recent hospital cases, under General Carey, held the Germans and prevented a break through.

March 26th. Owing to a mistake on the part of the local commanding officer, a part of the Third Army holding the line from Albert to Bray was withdrawn. Therefore the left flank of the Fifth Army was left in the air and a most dangerous position resulted. But 300 men with six Lewis guns and some armoured cars held the line north of the Somme and averted complete disaster.

The French were making heroic efforts to the right of the Fifth Army, but the ultimate object of the French was to protect Paris, of the English to cover the Channel Ports. Diversity of aim on the part of independent commanders was weakening the Allies, and on March 25th at an Allied War Council at Doullens General Foch was appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief. Acute controversy has arisen as to who was responsible for this appointment.

1. According to one account "Haig suggested the appointment because he had reached the definite conclusion that the only way to avert a disaster was for the Allies to appoint some hard fighting, resolute French General as Generalissimo, who would see to it that this idea of moving south-west to cover Paris was abandoned, and that the French troops should stand and fight in order to save Amiens and preserve the junction between the two Armies."[1]

"The initiative, both in the appointment of Foch and in supporting him when appointed came from the British Commander-in-Chief, not from the British Prime Minister."[2]

[1] *Sir Douglas Haig's Command.* [2] *Intrigues of the War*, page 31.

2. According to another view, "The man who worked for unity of command was Mr. Lloyd George. The man who actually brought it about was Lord Milner."[1]

March 27th. The Germans captured Mondidier, a gap of nine miles was made between the Fifth Army and the French, but was filled by French troops who were hurried up in trains and lorries.

General Gough, who had done splendid service in circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, and who was most unjustly criticised, was relieved by General Rawlinson.

March 28th. The Germans, now directly aiming at Amiens, drove back the Allies beyond the River Ancre, and by April 4th got within seven miles of Amiens and two miles of the Paris–Amiens Railway. But this was the limit of their advance. Strong French reinforcements appeared, the Fifth Army was firmly linked with the French on its right and the Third Army on its left, the Allied line was strongly established and the Germans, utterly wearied by their great efforts and weakened by enormous losses, were unable to advance.

C. General.

(1) The Second Battle of the Somme was a great victory for the Germans. In a fortnight, by weight of numbers, they drove the Allies back for some thirty miles with very heavy losses.

(2) But strategically the Germans had failed. Although breaches were made between the different Allied armies and between different corps in the same armies, the Germans failed to break through the elastic line of the British and French; they failed to effect that separation between the French and the Fifth Army which was an essential condition of their great plan; they had failed to defeat the Allies before the Americans came into the line (80,000 men left America in March and a million had sailed by July 2nd); they had failed to capture Amiens; their attempt was the direct cause of the unification of Allied command which, in a few months, was to lead to their defeat.

[1] Lovat Fraser, criticising *Sir Douglas Haig's Command*, in the *Daily Mail*, November 29th, 1922.

(3) The Germans admitted the loss of 180,000 men, and it is possible that their losses came to about a quarter of a million; their picked storm troops suffered terribly; their reserves were depleted, and when later they were forced back on the Siegfried, or Hindenburg, line they were too weak to hold it.

(4) The Allies had done wonders. Their numbers in men and guns were far inferior to those of the Germans, and the disproportion was accentuated by the facilities for concentration the enemy possessed; sixty-four German divisions attacked thirty-two British. On March 21st the Third Corps held a length of 30,000 yards, and the Eighth English Division "was attacked by eighteen different German divisions, including three of the Guards."[1] The Allied losses were very great; the Fifth Army alone lost 50,000 men, but by the end of April 355,000 men had been sent from England to reinforce the British line. Although the situation often seemed desperate the Allies prevented the Germans from breaking through, and the only military fault in the retreat was the premature withdrawal of the Albert–Bray line on March 26th.

> "At no time, either on the Somme or on the Lys, was there anything approaching a breakdown of command or a failure of morale. Under conditions that made rest and sleep impossible for days together, and called incessantly for the greatest physical exertion and quickness of thought, officers and men remained undismayed, realising that for the time being they must play a waiting game, and determined to make the enemy pay the full price for the success which for the moment was his."[2]

II. The Battle of the Lys, April 9th–29th, 1918.

In order to facilitate the resumption of the thrust along the Somme to Amiens, Ludendorff determined further to weaken the battleworn British by an attack on the River Lys position, which was held by inadequate forces, many of whom had just returned from the Somme battle. He hoped to capture the important

[1] Doyle. [2] *Haig's Despatches.*

railway junctions of Bethune and Hazebrouk, and thus seriously to hamper British communications; to drive the British back towards the Channel ports and to compel Foch to use his reserves in this area and then, by a sudden thrust, to take Amiens and to drive a wedge between the French and British. Ludendorff's task was rendered easier by the excellence of his railway communications; by the possession of Lille, where he could easily concentrate forces without the knowledge of the Allies; and by the fact that the canals and watercourses, which formed the only obstacle in the flat country had very little water owing to the dry spring.

A. The first attack south of the Lys. Givenchy to Armentières.

(1) April 9th. Again aided by fog and preceded by a heavy bombardment of gas and high-explosive shells, German shock troops broke through the Portuguese who were holding the line from Bois Grenier to Neuve Chapelle, and advancing north-west forced the British, who had been on the left of the Portuguese, to cross the Lys and take up a position facing south on the line Estelle-Merville. The next day, April 10th, the Germans struck north, captured Estaires and crossed the Lys.

(2) April 9th. An attack on Givenchy and Festubert, covering Bethune, and forming the extreme right of the battle line, completely failed. These places held out during the whole of the battle, and their successful defence, which narrowed the German front, was of vital importance.

B. The second attack. North of the Lys. Armentières to Wytschaete.

April 10th. The Germans, hidden by a fog, drove in the centre at Ploegsteert, but failed to secure the Messines Ridge on the extreme right. Armentières, outflanked on north and south and drenched with gas, was evacuated by the British.

C. April 11th. The combined attack on the whole front.

(1) In the south the Germans advancing northward along the line of the Lys captured Merville and drove the British north of Steenwerck and Nieppe.

(2) In the north the British lost the village of Messines.

Ludendorff, who had not expected that his offensive would prove so successful, brought up very large forces, hoping to break through the Allied line and to take the Channel ports. The Battle of the Lys thus became a main operation and not an operation subsidiary to the attack on Amiens. The danger was very great, and on April 11th Haig gave his famous order, "With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight on to the end."

April 11th–17th. The German line now formed a flat semicircle running from the east of Givenchy, through Merville, La Creche, Messines to the east of Wytschaete. The semicircle was extended in all directions by the capture of Neuve Eglise (April 14th), Bailleul (April 15th), and Wytschaete (April 17th), and the advance of the Germans led to the evacuation of Passchendaele and the shortening of the Ypres salient.

(3) Kemmel Hill.

Ludendorff now determined to attack Kemmel Hill, commanding Hazebrouk, both from the south and also by an attack on the Belgians north of the Ypres salient; and to capture Béthune through Givenchy.

April 17th. Utter failure of the attempt to break the Belgian line at Bixschoote.

April 18th. Complete repulse of the attack on Givenchy.

April 25th. By this time strong French reinforcements had arrived. British troops had come from England, Italy, and Egypt, but the Germans, still greatly superior in numbers, captured Kemmel Hill on April 25th. But an attempt four days later to advance beyond it proved a most costly failure and the Battle of the Lys came to an end.

[Villers Bretonneux.

In accordance with his main plan Ludendorff attacked Villers Bretonneux which commanded Amiens. He captured the town on April 23rd, but it was recaptured on April 24th. Large British tanks defeated large German ones in the first battle of tanks and the new and very fast British "Whippet" tanks

first used at Colincamps in the Second Battle of the Somme. March 26th, proved most effective. This action "clearly defined the ne plus ultra of the German advance in the Somme Valley, and marked a stable equilibrium which was soon to turn into an eastward movement."][1]

(4) General.

The Battle of the Lys was a great tactical victory for the Germans, who had driven a salient with a maximum depth of twelve miles into the Allied line, inflicted heavy casualties on the British and destroyed a large number of the reserves which Foch was anxious to keep for an early offensive. But, like the Second Battle of the Somme, it was a strategic failure. It failed to capture Bethune and Hazebrouk, to break through the Allied line, to separate the British from the French, or to drive the British back on the Channel ports. It cost the Germans very heavy casualties, especially among their shock troops, who suffered so severely that the latest attacks were made in close formation with appalling losses. The Germans were soon to realise that their "expensive and barren success" had been gained only at the cost of troops whom they urgently needed to resist Foch's great offensive.

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[1] Doyle.

THE LAST GERMAN OFFENSIVE

May, June, July, **1918.**

The Second Battle of the Somme and the Battle of the Lys had proved strategical failures. They had cost the Allies 300,000 casualties and the Germans 500,000, but they had not brought the final victory for which the Germans, now utterly war weary and terrified by the successful air raids of the Allies, were ardently longing. The Americans were pouring into France and were soon to prove their value in the battle line, while their presence made it less necessary for Foch to husband his reserves. Ludendorff knew that if victory was to be gained he must strike at once. In the early part of May he secured large reinforcements, including many boys of the 1920 class; by intensive training behind the lines he renewed his shock troops; he brought his men to the front with secrecy, usually by night, muffling his carriage wheels and horses' hoofs to deaden the sound of their approach.

I. The Third Battle of the Aisne, May 27th to July 5th.

The Allied line was thirty miles long. The left was held by four French divisions on the Chemin-des-Dames, south of the Ailette; the centre by British on both banks of the Aisne, from Craonne to Berméricourt; the left by four French divisions from Berméricourt to a short distance east of Rheims. Of these the British were tired out after the fighting in Flanders and had been sent to the Aisne to rest. The line was thinly held, and Foch, not knowing where the Germans, who possessed the great advantage of the inner lines of communication, would attack had stationed his reserves in other parts of the line to protect the Channel ports and Paris.

A. The German advance from the Aisne to the Marne, May 27th–30th.

May 27th. Ludendorff unexpectedly threw twenty-eight divisions, assisted by tanks and aeroplanes, against the eight

divisions holding the left and centre. The French on the left were overwhelmed. The Chemin-des-Dames was captured easily, and by night the Germans had advanced twelve miles to the Vesle. The British in the centre held out better, but owing to the withdrawal of the French were compelled to fall back on the Aisne.

By May 30th the Germans had reached the Marne and driven a salient with a maximum depth of thirty miles into the Allied front.

B. The widening of the salient.

The Germans made great efforts to widen the salient.

(1) On the west.

(*a*) May 29th. They captured Soissons, the western pillar of the salient, but were held up by the French in the forest of Villers-Cotterets to the west of the town.

(*b*) June 6th. They widened the base of the salient by advancing westward along the Ourcq to Troesnes and by capturing Chateau Thierry, but were driven back along the Ourcq by the French and from Chateau-Thierry by the Americans.

(*c*) May 27th. They made some advance on the line Montdidier–Noyon towards Compiègne, but were held on the west by the Americans who took Cantigny, and by the French who regained the line of the Oise.

(2) June 5th. On the east.

The Germans failed to capture Rheims, the eastern pillar of the salient, and attempts to break through the line to the west of Rheims, to get Epernay, and to break through the line to the east and capture Chalons proved quite unsuccessful.

C. General.

The Germans had secured a remarkable initial success and had made a very rapid advance to the Marne. They claimed 50,000 prisoners ; they had got within forty miles of Paris, where the noise of the battle was heard. But Ludendorff had again, as on the Lys, undertaken a diversion which, in spite of its success, did not promote his main strategic purpose of separating

the French and English ; the success of the Americans showed how dangerous the huge American reinforcements were likely to prove in the near future ; and the German salient afforded many points of attack of which Foch soon took full advantage.

II. The Second Battle of the Marne, July 15th–August 4th, 1918.

The lure of Paris, the necessity of widening the dangerous Marne salient, his knowledge of the arrival of American troops, who were pouring into France in spite of the fact that the German Press denied their existence, compelled Ludendorff to resume the offensive and engage in the " peace battle " as soon as his heavy losses on the Aisne and Marne had been made up. But circumstances had changed. The Allies were now far superior in men and guns, and Foch's reserves had become so large that he could strike anywhere he pleased. He resolved—

(1) To check Ludendorff's impending offensive on the Marne by new tactics. He held his front deeply and lightly so that the initial force of the German attack might spend itself in vain ; arranged for prompt and effective counter-bombardment ; kept his main force for counter-offensives.

(2) To initiate a war of movement by striking in succession at different parts of the line and limiting his objectives. He thus adopted the plan best suited to wear down an enemy whose reserves were no longer adequate to the task of maintaining his whole line.

(3) To use light French " mosquito " tanks, covered by a short bombardment, to open the attack.

Ludendorff aimed at breaking through east and west of Rheims and cutting the Nancy–Verdun railway ; at advancing south across the Marne, and then moving west towards Paris along the Marne. But this plan would neither divide the British from the French nor stop the arrival of the Americans.

A. East of Rheims.

July 15th. East of Rheims the attack was checked with great loss to the Germans and slight loss to the French.

B. West of Rheims.

July 15th. The Germans crossed the Marne to a depth of about three miles, but were prevented from advancing towards Epernay by French and Italian forces. The salient had been lengthened but not broadened ; most of the German forces were concentrated on the south, and the eight divisions that had crossed the Marne were in grave danger owing to powerful counter-attacks.

C. **July 18th.** The beginning of Foch's counter-offensive.

(1) Foch's defensive tactics had checked the German advance across the Marne. On July 18th he began his offensive, which did not stop until the Germans submitted on November 11th. He collected his reserves in the forest of Villers-Cotterets without the knowledge of the Germans, and threw them on the left of the Marne salient from Soissons to Chateau-Thierry, following a great number of mosquito tanks. The flank was lightly held, and the attack was completely successful. General Mangin on the north secured a height commanding Soissons, which the French captured on August 1st. General Dégoutte on the south advanced along the valley of the Ourcq, and the Americans on his right broke through the German defence. The whole German line was shattered ; they made a hurried but most skilful retreat, and by August 4th had been driven back to the Vesle, with a loss of 40,000 prisoners.

(2) Foch had regained the initiative, which the Allies had lost in the Second Battle of the Somme. He used it to strike a number of blows in quick succession and with ample forces at different parts of the German line, thus compelling Ludendorff to use up his rapidly diminishing reserves in a war of movement which for the Germans meant a continuous retreat under heavy pressure and with enormous loss. The German war machine, severely tried by the strain of four years' fighting, broke down, partly owing to the very effective work of the light tanks, Foch's masterly strategy, the excellent work of French, English, Belgian, and Italian troops. The arrival of huge American reinforcements,

who proved excellent fighting men, completed the downfall of the enemy.

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THE SECOND COALITION GOVERNMENT

December, **1916**–December, **1918.**

Prime Minister, D. Lloyd George ; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bonar Law ; Foreign Secretary, A. J. Balfour ; Secretary for War, Lord Derby ; President of the Board of Trade, Sir A. Stanley ; the Ministers for Education, Shipping (a new department), and Agriculture were H. A. L. Fisher, Sir Joseph Maclay, E. Prothero. Labour Ministers included A. Henderson.

The Prime Minister's emotion, versatility, energy, courage, and enthusiastic confidence supplied the power necessary to rouse the nation to new and greater efforts. He " could appease with words the popular clamour for the moon, and yet be guided by others into the mundane paths of practical common sense."[1]

I. Reorganisation.

The national demand was that the Government should " get on with the war," and for this purpose new arrangements were made.

A. The War Cabinets.

A new War Cabinet of five was formed, consisting of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Bonar Law), Lords Milner and Curzon, and Arthur Henderson, representing Labour. The limitation of its numbers, and the fact that only one member

[1] Prof. Pollard, page 24.

was in charge of one of the greater departments of State, tended to greater efficiency.

B. New Departments.

Under the supreme authority of the War Office new departments of Shipping Control, National Service, Food Control, and Pensions were created to deal with pressing problems of, or arising out of, the war.

C. The dilution of Labour.

The urgent need for more soldiers led to the general application of the principle of the dilution of labour by the employment of women and unskilled men above military age. The special exemption from military service hitherto given to members of engineering unions was withdrawn, and by July, **1918,** the number of women employed in the metal trades alone had risen from 170,000 (in July, **1914**) to 424,000 ; while the total number doing work usually done by men had risen to 1,659,000. The dilution of general labour, as opposed to war work, was one of the reasons for the engineering strikes which broke out at Barrow and on the Clyde in May, **1917.**

D. Conscription extended.

1918. All men under fifty-one in Great Britain and Ireland declared liable for service. The effect was doubtful ; industry suffered more than the Army gained, and the extension to Ireland led to such opposition that British forces which were badly needed on the Continent were sent to suppress disorder in Ireland.

Lord Moulton did excellent work as Director-General of Explosive Services. On his appointment " the output of high explosives was about a ton a day. Lord Moulton raised it before the end of the war to over a thousand tons a day."[1]

II. **Food Control.**

A. Partly owing to the German submarines the problem of the food supply became very difficult. Restriction of supply was

[1] *Life of Lord Moulton,* by his son.

followed by a rise in prices, and, while many received considerable increases in wages and salaries, the new conditions pressed very heavily on people with fixed incomes, on those whose money was invested in house property (the rents of which could not be raised), and on professional men, whose fees were not raised in proportion to the rise in prices.

B. The adoption of standard bread, the restriction on brewing (April, **1916,** and February, **1917**), the limitation on meals taken in hotels and restaurants, did little to improve conditions; but the Corn Production Act of February 23rd, **1917,** helped the farmer by guaranteeing the price of crops and labourers' wages. On April 4th, **1917,** the Government took control of breadstuffs and 261 flour mills came under their supervision. Voluntary rationing, a great increase in the number of allotment holders, and the energetic efforts of amateur gardeners proved more helpful; but it was not until Lord Rhondda succeeded Lord Devonport as Food Controller, on June 15th, **1917,** that the problem was adequately handled.

C. Lord Rhondda.

(1) Brought 85 per cent of all food consumed by civilians under the direct control of the Ministry of Food (not milk, fish, vegetables).

(2) From October, **1917,** to February, **1918,** Lord Rhondda

(*a*) fixed maximum prices for 94 per cent of food and drink, and although the limitation of prices led to the phenomenon of the "disappearing rabbit," the control of the Ministry generally ensured adequate supplies.

At Christmas, **1917,** eggs cost 5d. each, rabbits 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d., and herrings 5s. a dozen; but now "the upward rush of prices was checked, and if the chief foods be taken together, the price index was kept almost level for twelve months";

(*b*) regulated distribution by requiring each customer to register his name and to buy from one seller only, by rationing supplies according to demand, and by issuing "cards" showing the amount of sugar, tea, lard, and butter available for each person. These arrangements helped to stop the queues which had formed

before any shop which was known to have supplies. The scheme for rationing meat, butter, and margarine came into force February 25th, **1918.**

In the week before rationing was enforced 1,339,000 persons were counted in queues in London; in the fourth week after the introduction only 15,000.

(3) A subsidy from the Treasury enabled a quartern loaf to be sold for 9d., i.e. below the actual cost.

The work was carried out by Local Food Control Committees acting under twelve Food Commissioners appointed by the Ministry. It was a national system administered by local authorities.

(4) Lord Rhondda died in July, **1918,** and his prophecy, on taking office, that the work would kill him, was verified. He had rendered inestimable service. His system of rationing was a great success, and the success was due partly to the administrative ability of Lord Rhondda and partly to the general belief that he was trying to give fair treatment to all at a time when food had become the dominant concern of every householder.

D. From October, **1917,** to February, **1919,** the Ministry of Food bought in America 2,207,000 tons of food at a cost of £276,000,000.

III. **Education Act, 1916** (page 1322).

IV. **Finance.**

The cost of the war rose, and by April, **1917,** reached about £7,800,000 per day. Another loan brought in £1,000,000,000 in February, **1917,** and the Budget of the following April increased the duty on tobacco and fixed the Excess Profits Duty at 80 per cent instead of 60 per cent.

V. **The Statement of the Aims of the Allies.**

War weariness had become intensified by the end of **1917,** and the failure of our campaign in Flanders,[1] the rout of the Italians at Caporetto,[2] and the Russian revolution made some question

[1] Page 1217. [2] Page 1207.

whether the Allies could win the war and whether the appalling losses it entailed were justified by the results. There was an earnest desire for an honourable peace and a tendency to consider conditions on which a peace could be made.

A. Lord Lansdowne's Letter.

November 29th, **1917.** In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* Lord Lansdowne suggested that negotiations might be opened with Germany if the Allies gave assurances that her position as a great political power should be maintained, and that they were prepared to settle international questions, including that of the freedom of the seas, by peaceful methods.

The letter did more harm than good. It did not make clear that the Allies were fighting for freedom and that freedom was impossible until militarism had been destroyed.

B. The British Government.

January 6th, **1918.** Lloyd George issued an official statement which practically agreed with that issued in December, **1917,** by a Labour and a Socialist Conference, although it laid less stress on the all-important question of the establishment of an international system to prevent, or at least limit, war. Lloyd George denied that the Allies wished to destroy the Central Powers or to take Constantinople from Turkey. He asserted that the national claims of Belgium, Italy, Roumania, Poland, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine must be acknowledged ; that Alsace-Lorraine must be restored to France ; that Germany must make reparation for injuries done to Allied territory ; and that an international tribunal must be established to limit armaments.

This was a plain statement of the object of the Allies, but it brought peace no nearer, as it made no effective appeal to the moderate party on the other side.

C. President Wilson's " Fourteen Points."

January 8th, **1918.** President Wilson's famous statement insisted on the evacuation and restoration of all territories occupied by Germany; the just treatment of Alsace-Lorraine; the settlement on the lines of nationality of the Italian boundary, the different

parts of Austro-Hungary, the Balkan States; and the independence of Poland. It protested against secret diplomacy, and demanded freedom of navigation outside territorial waters and "a general association of nations . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

The German offensive of **1918,** and not the speeches made in the Reichstag, was the real answer of the Central Powers to the Fourteen Points, but they played an important part in the making of the Treaty of Versailles.

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THE VICTORIOUS ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES

August, **1918.**

Early in August, Ludendorff resolved to fall back, hoping to hold a line on the high ground near Ypres, La Bassée, Bapaume, and Lassigny. Foch did not attempt to attack the Germans on the Vesle, where they had secured strong positions, but, content with having secured his limited objective in this area, delivered a number of attacks which seriously embarrassed the retiring Germans.

1. The Third Battle of the Somme, August 8th–15th.

The British Fourth Army, under Rawlinson, and the French First Army, under Debeney, attacked suddenly along the line of the Avre and the two roads from Amiens to St. Quentin and to Roye. Preceded by a violent bombardment lasting four minutes,

four hundred light tanks, followed by the infantry, broke through the German centre, capturing a General in bed and an officers' mess at breakfast. Montdidier was taken on August 10th, and the Lassigny heights on August 15th. The advance was then stopped. It had finally relieved Amiens, saved the Amiens–Paris railway, driven the Germans back to a maximum depth of eight miles with the loss of 33,000 prisoners.

II. **The Aisne, August 19th–20th.**

Mangin made a successful advance on a front of ten miles between the Oise and the Aisne to the south-east of Lassigny.

III. **General Advance, August 21st–September 1st.**

The Germans, badly shaken in front of Amiens and north of the Aisne, were now suddenly attacked on the northern side of the salient caused by Rawlinson's success, on the Ancre, Scarpe, Somme, and Oise.

A. The Ancre, August 21st–29th.

Byng advanced along the Ancre and south of Albert, took Thiepval Ridge, Mametz, Martinpuich and, on August 29th, Bapaume.

B. The Scarpe, August 25th–30th.

Horne advanced south of the Scarpe, took Monchy and Bullecourt, and reached the Quéant–Drocourt switch in the Siegfried line, which Ludendorff was hoping to hold during the winter.

C. The Somme, August 29th–September 1st.

Rawlinson took Combles, Mont St. Quentin, commanding Peronne, and Peronne itself September 1st.

D. South of the Somme, August 21st–September 1st.

The French, under Debeney, captured Roye (August 27th), Nesle and Chaulnes (August 28th), and drove the Germans east of the Somme. Noyon was taken on the 29th by Humbert, who was assisted by a successful flanking movement by Mangin operating between the Oise and Aisne.

IV. **General.**

By September 1st the Allies had recovered the ground lost in the Second Battle of the Marne and much of the ground lost in the Second Battle of the Somme. The loss of Bapaume, Peronne, and Noyon was a catastrophe for the Germans, whose hope of safety now depended on the Siegfried line, as they had lost the heights in the Somme area. The battle was more or less continuous along the front, and the Germans found it impossible with their rapidly shrinking reserves to resist the attacks delivered with great rapidity against different parts of their line. Their retreat was carried out with great difficulty owing to the close pursuit of the Allies, who did not give them time to establish themselves strongly in the Siegfried lines.

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THE VICTORIOUS ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES

September, **1918.**

The Allied operations in August had been mainly directed against the German line between the Scarpe and the Marne, although the Lys salient had been reduced by the capture of Merville. The September operations included the breaking of the Siegfried or Hindenburg line, the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient east of Verdun by American forces, the defeat of the Germans on the Vesle by the French, and in Flanders by the Belgians and British. The *morale* of the Germans was gravely impaired by the submission of Bulgaria[1] and the defeat of the Turks in Palestine.[2]

[1] Page 1188. [2] Page 1204.

The success of the Allies on the Western front was specially important because an attempt to re-establish the Eastern front had failed. Czecho-Slovaks, who had been fighting in the Russian Army against Germany, had set up an independent government under Admiral Koltchak in Siberia and been joined by Allied troops from Vladivostok. A British force had been sent to Archangel and the Murmansk coast to prevent German aggression in the north of Russia. Neither of these efforts did much to further the cause of the Allies.

I. The Siegfried or Hindenburg Lines.

These extended from Drocourt, south of Lens, to about ten miles east of Rheims, a total distance of about 120 miles, crossing the Somme at St. Quentin, the Oise at La Fère, and the Aisne. The northern part from Drocourt to Quéant was known as the Wotan or Switch line, the centre as the Hindenburg, and the southern as the Alberich line. Behind the Hindenburg were the Hunding lines, behind the Hunding the Douai–Metz lines, and the fourth and last German lines ran from Valenciennes to Givet, on the Meuse. The front lines were strengthened by the Canal du Nord, crossing the Arras–Cambrai road about eight miles east of Cambrai, by the Scheldt Canal between Cambrai and St. Quentin, and by marshes behind the Switch.

A. The Switch or Wotan line, September 2nd and 3rd.

September 2nd. The British First Army, under Horne, broke through six miles in the centre of the Switch, which consisted of wide trenches, five deep and very strongly wired ; the Germans were driven back behind the Canal du Nord and the marshes of the Sensée, which held up the advance for a time. On September 2nd the British guns fired 943,800 shells.

B. The Siegfried line, September 26th–October 1st.

During the first three weeks of September the Allies had steadily drawn nearer to the Siegfried line.

(1) The northern end towards Cambrai.

September 26th–28th. The British advanced on a line from

Gouzeaucourt, ten miles south-west of Cambrai, and the Sensée Marshes; crossed the Canal du Nord at Moeuvres, Marquion, seven miles north-west of Cambrai on the Arras–Cambrai road, and Sauchy Lestrée; broke through the northern end of the Siegfried line at Moeuvres, Flesquières, and Ribecourt, and by September 28th had reached the Scheldt Canal at a point about four miles south of Cambrai which was also threatened from an Allied salient on the north.

(2) The southern end towards St. Quentin.

September 28th–October 1st. The British advanced south of Gouzeaucourt, and the Fourth Army, under Rawlinson, which included American troops, made the main attack on a line of twelve miles between Houlon and Vendhuile. The Scheldt Canal, fifty feet wide and, in places, ten deep, was crossed, in some cases with the help of lifebelts, at the vital point of Belle Eglise; further north tanks advanced on the top of the tunnel of the canal, and the Siegfried line was broken for a space of eight miles.

October 1st. Capture of St. Quentin by Debeney's left wing striking south of Rawlinson.

[September 29th. Bulgaria surrendered.]

C. The Alberich line.

Mangin advanced along the Ailette and turned the position of the Germans on the Vesle. The latter hurriedly retreated north to the Aisne on September 4th, and by September 30th Mangin had taken Braye, only ten miles south of Laon, and secured the command of much of the Aisne valley to the east of Soissons.

II. The Battle of St. Mihiel, September 12th and 13th.

The German salient at St. Mihiel, east of Verdun, protected the very important junction at Longuyon on which depended the communications "which supplied their front from Laon to Lorraine."[1] The salient was captured by an American army under General Pershing, now operating for the first time as an independent command, and with the support of some French troops.

[1] Buchan.

III. **The Argonne, September 26th.**

The French, under Gourand, and the Americans, under Pershing, advanced each on a front of twenty miles. The former regained the Buttes of Tahure and the latter Montfaucon, which commanded the Verdun area.

IV. **The Fourth Battle of Ypres, September 28th–29th.**

King Albert, commanding the Belgian Army, supported by French and British troops, in two days advanced on a front of twenty miles from Dixmude to Ploegsteert Wood to a maximum depth of eight miles east of Ypres. The ground captured included in the northern section Houthulst Forest, in the centre Passchendaele Ridge, in the southern area Zandvoorde and Messines Ridge.

V. **General.**

The German position was made infinitely worse by the September operations. King Albert's victory endangered the right flank of the German line and their coast positions, threatened Lille, and wiped out the Lys salient. The Hindenburg line had practically gone, for St. Quentin had fallen, and Cambrai and Douai could not hold out long. Laon was soon to yield. The loss of the St. Mihiel salient gravely weakened the German left flank, but in this area they managed by stubborn resistance to hold for a time the line of the Meuse, which was essential for the protection of their Belgian front.

But the whole German line was cracking. The Germans had not enough reserves to resist the rapid blows Foch was dealing along the whole line. In two and a half months they had lost at least 250,000 prisoners, and their reserves consisted largely of boys of the **1920** class, hospital cases, and returned prisoners from Russia, in whom a strong tendency to mutiny appeared.

References :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. CLVIII., CLX., CLXIII.

The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1918, by Doyle, Vol. II.

THE VICTORIOUS ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES

October, **1918.**

The Allies kept in close touch with the Germans and prevented Ludendorff from effecting a general retreat.

I. **The Fifth, and last, Battle of Ypres, October 14th–20th.**

A. King Albert's army, with French troops under Humbert and British under Plumer, advanced on the whole of the Flanders front from Dixmude to the Lys.

October 15th. In the north Thourout, fourteen miles from Bruges, was taken ; in the south the British, advancing along the Lys, captured Menin.

October 16th. The extreme left got within five miles of Ostend, and the British reached Harlebeke.

October 20th. By October 20th the Allied forces were on a line extending from fifteen miles east of Bruges to Tournai on the upper Scheldt.

B. The victory compelled the Germans to leave the coast ; Ostend was entered by the Allies on October 17th, Zeebrugge and Bruges on the 19th ; the Germans now tried to establish their line on the Lys about ten miles west of Ghent.

C. Lille was regained on October 17th, Roubaix and Turcoing the next day.

II. **Cambrai.**

A. The capture of Cambrai, October 9th.

By October 3rd the British had crossed the Scheldt Canal and reached Crevecour, and Cambrai was outflanked from the south, while the Canadians threatened the town from Tilloy on the north. Ludendorff, anxious to save so important a key position, sent reinforcements from the Meuse, but on October 9th three

Canadian divisions, having defeated eleven German, entered the town and were soon followed by English troops. The Germans were compelled to retire towards Le Cateau.

B. Le Catelat, October 3rd–5th.

Stubborn fighting led to a victory which finally smashed the Hindenburg line north of St. Quentin at Bellecourt and Le Catelat, and enabled the British to break through the Hunding line from Beaurevoir to Montbrehain.

C. Le Cateau and the Selle, October 10th–20th.

The British, advancing east from Cambrai, captured Le Cateau on October 10th and pushed towards the Selle, along which the Germans held out stubbornly. But Byng forced the line of the Selle from Le Cateau to Denain, and his success, together with the fall of Douai, October 17th, brought Haig nearer to Valenciennes, his next objective.

The British now advanced from the Selle and struck at a gap between Mormal Forest, which afforded excellent cover for the German defence, and the Scheldt, which constituted a strong defensive position. By October 27th they had got nearly to Le Quesnoy and were gradually outflanking Valenciennes on the north and Mormal Wood on the south.

III. **Progress on the South.**

A. Mangin passed the heights of St. Gobain, long one of the pillars of the German position south of the Oise, took Laon on October 15th, broke through the Hunding line, and drove the Germans back to the Serre by October 31st.

B. The great natural obstacles in the Argonne and the exceptional difficulties of communication and transport which had hindered the advance of the Americans were at length overcome, and by October 31st the Americans had crossed the Aire and advanced on the left bank of the Meuse nearly to Dun.

October 26th. Resignation of Ludendorff.

[October 31st. Turkey surrendered.]

IV. **General.**

The position of the Germans was now hopeless. They had had 2,500,000 casualties since March, had lost a third of their guns, transport had become exceedingly difficult; the incessant pressure of the Allies gave them no rest, and their *morale* was utterly weakened. The line of the Meuse offered no chance of a successful stand, for it had been turned by the advance of the Americans. The Allies were sure to make an immediate advance, and the Germans could no longer offer effective resistance.

[∞(LONDON)∞]

THE FINAL VICTORY

November 1st–11th, **1918.**

The last offensive of the Allies included an eastward advance of the British along the Sambre towards Namur (thus driving a wedge between the northern and southern German armies), and a northward advance of the French across the Serre and the Americans along the Meuse, which would, if the British attempt proved successful, complete the envelopment of the German forces south of the Sambre.

I. **The Advance of the Allies, November 1st–5th.**

A. The Belgians.

The Belgians were driving the Germans back along the Lys and were approaching Ghent.

B. The British.

(1) The capture of Valenciennes, November 2nd.

The capture of Valenciennes enabled the left flank of the British in the centre of the Allied line to advance, turned the line of the upper Scheldt, and compelled the Germans to withdraw from the salient they had been holding at Tournai.

(2) The Sambre, November 4th–5th.

The British armies, under Horne, Rawlinson, and Byng, attacked on a front of thirty miles between Valenciennes and the Oise–Sambre Canal. On the north they forced the Aunelle, five miles east of Valenciennes; in the centre Le Quesnoy was captured; the Germans were driven out of the Forest of Mormal: on the south Landrecies was taken.

II. **The French.**

A. To the south of the British Debeney took Guise, November 5th, and pushed on eastward along the Oise. On Debeney's right Mangin, advancing along the Aisne, broke the Hunding lines.

B. Gourand drove the Germans out of the Argonne and by November 5th got as far north as Le Chesne, on the Ardennes Canal.

III. **The Americans.**

Assisted by Gourand's success on their left, the Americans, under Pershing, advanced rapidly along the Meuse. They took Busancy on November 2nd, and on November 7th entered Sedan, thus cutting the connection between the eastern and western forces of the Germans.

IV. **The Pursuit.**

The southern Germans were now utterly broken and were striving to escape through a gap of fifty miles between Avesnes and Mezières, on the Meuse, severely harassed by the Allied air forces.

Meanwhile the Allies maintained a strong pursuit and steadily converged on the German lines of communication. The Belgians took Ghent on November 10th. The British took Condé on November 8th, Mauberge on November 9th, and entered Mons, where the town bells welcomed them with the tune of "Tipperary," on November 11th. The French took Mezières and Hirson on November 8th and entered Belgium on November 9th. The Italians entered Rocroi on November 10th. The Americans

seized the heights of the Meuse. From August 8th to November 11th the British had taken about 200,000 prisoners and 3000 guns; the French, 140,000 and 2000; the Americans, 43,000 and 1400.

Foch was preparing a final blow, an encircling movement of his right, in Lorraine for November 14th; but the German armies surrendered just in time to avoid utter destruction.

V. Reasons for Surrender.

Ludendorff, in his *Kriegführung und Politic*,[1] tries to explain why the Germans had to surrender.

A. Military.

(1) Ludendorff asserts that from August, **1914,** to September, **1916,** when Falkenhayn retired from the supreme command, four and a quarter million men were called up on renewal drafts; from September, **1916,** to the end of the war he himself received less than half the number. He considers that Falkenhayn squandered his forces, particularly in the First Battle of Ypres, October, **1914.**

(2) The failure of the March offensive left the German Army immobile owing to the loss of motor transport, horses, and forage, to the shortage of petrol, and to the great confusion and disorder which hampered its movements.

(3) Ludendorff denies that the Germans suffered a decisive defeat. In view of the results of operations from July 18th and of the terms of the Armistice, the Allies have formed the opposite opinion.

(4) The British propaganda[2] broke the strength of the German Army "by the reduction of the capacity of individuals for resistance, and the lowering of the numerical strength of units by wholesale desertion and skulking." Ludendorff says that the number of German deserters in October, **1918,** amount to some hundreds of thousands.

[1] *Daily Mail* review, March 2nd, 1922.

[2] Page 1271.

B. Civil.

(1) Growth of socialistic and anti-monarchical feeling.

Bavaria abolished her monarchy on November 8th and in all the chief cities Councils of Soldiers and Workmen took control. On November 9th the Red Flag was hoisted on the Kaiser's palace in Berlin. The next day the Kaiser fled ignominiously to Amerongen, in Holland.

(2) Ludendorff asserts that Freemasons and Jews used their influence against Germany. The statement is ridiculous as regards the former, doubtful as regards the latter.

VI. **The Armistice.**

Disaster in the field led to a break up of the old order in Germany. On November 4th mutiny broke out in the Fleet at Kiel and spread through the Baltic ports. Risings took place in Cologne and the manufacturing towns of Westphalia. Further resistance was hopeless, and on November 6th the Germans sought by wireless telegraphy permission to send delegates to treat with Foch. They met Foch in the train near Hirson and said they had come to consider suggestions for an armistice. Foch said the Allies did not want one and proposed to continue fighting. The Germans then begged for an armistice. Foch stated his terms, gave the Germans three days to answer, and refused to stop fighting while they were considering their answer. The Germans accepted the terms, and the Armistice was signed at 5 a.m. on November 11th, and at 11 a.m. hostilities ceased.

A. The Armistice provided—

(1) All invaded countries to be evacuated immediately.

(2) The Germans to give up 5000 guns, 30,000 machine guns, and 2000 aeroplanes ; and also 5000 locomotives and 150,000 railway wagons.

(3) The Allies to occupy the left bank of the Rhine and form bridgeheads with a radius of nineteen miles on the right bank at Cologne, Mayence, and Coblentz.

(4) All Allied prisoners to be repatriated immediately; arrangements for return of German prisoners to be made later.

B. Naval conditions.

(1) German submarines to be surrendered within fourteen days.

(2) Seventy-four warships to be ready to surrender within seven days.

(3) The Allied blockade of Germany to continue, but the Allies to provision Germany, if necessary.

(4) All Allied merchant ships to be restored, but all German ships and stores on the Belgian coast to be surrendered.

C. Treaties.

The Treaties of Bukarest[1] and Brest-Litovsk[2] to be annulled.

D. Financial.

The Germans to give reparations for damage done, to restore all cash, stocks, etc., taken from Allied countries.

E. Duration.

The Armistice to last for thirty-six days, subject to two days' notice.

Reference :

Nelson's History of the War, chaps. CLXIII., CXLIV., CXLVI., Appendix 5.

THE SETTLEMENT

The war was over, and a speedy settlement of the terms of peace was essential. But with the defeat of Germany differences of interest became manifest between the Allies, and these added difficulties to the difficult task. Victory had been won by the united efforts of all the Allies, but each one claimed to have been the decisive factor. Great Britain desired to retain without

[1] Page 1198. [2] Page 1200.

diminution her Navy, France her Army ; the United States were attached to the Monroe Doctrine and were reluctant to make this subordinate to the idea of a League of Nations ; Italy wished to secure the eastern coast of the Adriatic, but the Slavs felt that an outlet on this sea was imperative for their future prosperity ; the Poles were fighting the Ukrainians and also the Czecho-Slovaks about territorial readjustment, and all three were Allied Powers. In Russia, Krasnoff and Denikin were opposing the *de facto* Soviet Government, and British forces were co-operating with them on the Murmansk coast and at Archangel ; the United States resented Japanese immigration ; the Australians feared the extension of Japanese influence in the Pacific ; and there was in some quarters a tendency to support China against possible Japanese aggression. France thought it necessary for her future safety that Germany should be crippled, and in England there was a noisy party which called upon Ministers to "hang the Kaiser" and make Germany pay to "the uttermost farthing." These and similar difficulties tended to create an atmosphere which was not conducive to a permanent settlement. But this tendency was to some extent counteracted by the broad vision and political sagacity of President Wilson, the first President to leave his country during his term of office, whose detached position enabled him to take a less biassed view of European problems than the statesmen whose countries were directly affected.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

On January 18th, **1919,** the Peace Conference opened at Versailles on the same day of the year and in the same room which had seen the proclamation of the German Empire in **1871.** Seventy delegates, representing twenty-seven countries, attended. The British Empire was represented by fourteen ; France, Italy, Japan, and the United States by five each ; Belgium and Jugo-Slavia had five each. The leading representatives, called "the Big Four," were Lloyd George (Great Britain), Clemenceau (France), Wilson (United States), and Orlando (Italy).

I. The League of Nations.

President Wilson, General Smuts, and Lord Robert Cecil played a most important part in the formation of the League of Nations, the Covenant of which was accepted as an integral part of the Treaties of Versailles.

A. Machinery.

(1) The Council.

The Council consists of representatives of the "Big Five" nations—Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan—and of four others, in the first instance Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and China. The Council must meet at least once a year; in the first fifteen months of its existence it met twelve times.

(2) The Assembly.

The Assembly consists of representatives of all members of the League, and for membership all independent nations and self-governing dominions are eligible. Forty-one members were represented at the first meeting held at Geneva, November 15th–December 18th, **1920.**

(3) The Permanent Court of International Justice.

Consists of eleven judges sitting at The Hague. Attendance before the court is voluntary.

(4) The Secretariat.

The Secretariat is permanent. The first Secretary-General is Sir Eric Drummond, who is bound to reside at Geneva, the official "seat of the League."

B. The object of the League.

(1) The main object of the League is "to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war."

(2) All disputes must be submitted to the Court of Arbitration, and no nation must start a war until three months after the Court has issued its award; any nation breaking this rule may be coerced by the economic pressure or armed intervention of other

members of the League ; but the League has no force of its own to enforce its decisions.

The League supports, but cannot enforce, disarmament.

(3) The idea that government is a trust and must be exercised in the interests of the governed led to the issue of mandates whereby conquered territory was to be held of the League of Nations by selected nations who were to be held responsible to the League for their success in promoting "the material and moral wellbeing and the social progress of the inhabitants." This important departure was originally suggested by General Smuts.

(4) The League deals also with questions of "fair and humane conditions of labour," traffic in drugs and munitions, international hygiene, and commerce.

II. The Settlement of Europe.

A. France.

France got Alsace-Lorraine and the coalfields of the Saar Valley, which is to be governed for fifteen years under the authority of the League of Nations.

B. Belgium.

Belgium got Malmédy and other districts, and the added area, though small, greatly strengthened her eastern frontier.

C. Poland.

Poland got back most of what she had lost by the partitions of the eighteenth century, including Posen and West Prussia (from Germany) and Galicia (from Austria). To ensure the free navigation of the Vistula, which was essential for Poland, Dantzig, which commanded the mouth, was made a free city.

D. Austro-Hungary.

The old "ramshackle" Austrian Empire, a mere mosaic of nationalities held together by a personal tie to the House of Hapsburg, was broken up into—

(1) Austria, of which Vienna contained one-third of the inhabitants. The loss of so much of her old territory and lack of

access to the sea has rendered it impossible for Vienna to obtain the supplies she needs and reduced the city to a state of famine.

(2) Hungary, which is now a republic and far smaller in extent because of the cession of land to Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia.

(3) Czecho-Slovakia, a new republic of Northern Slavs of about 11,300,000 people, including Bohemia and Moravia.

(4) Jugo-Slavia, a new monarchy of about 9,000,000 people, including Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Carinthia, Carniola, and Dalmatia. The monarchy would have been greatly strengthened if it had obtained Fiume. Serbia was the leading element. Alexander of Serbia is the first King of Jugo-Slavia, and the Serbian race is now united for the first time since the Middle Ages.

E. Roumania.

Roumania received Bessarabia (from Russia), Transylvania, Bukovina, and part of the Banat (from Austro-Hungary), and doubled its extent.

F. Russia.

While the establishment of Bolshevist rule has proved a great calamity, there is no doubt that if the old Tsardom had proved victorious on the Eastern front Russia would have claimed Constantinople and become the predominating power in the Balkans. The withdrawal of the British troops sent, contrary to the principle of self-determination, to act against the Soviet Government, left that Government supreme. But the area of Russia was greatly diminished by cessions to Poland and Roumania, and also by the formation of the republics of Esthonia, Finland, Courland, and Lithuania, covering a total area of about 250,000 square miles.

G. Italy.

Italy got the Trentino, Trieste, and Pola, and thus the "unredeemed" lands were redeemed.

The demands of the extreme Italian party, who asserted that "neither a fort, nor a gun, nor a submarine that is not Italian

ought to be in the Adriatic," led to serious differences with the Jugo-Slavs, who naturally desired an adequate outlet on the Adriatic. Both wanted Fiume, and in April, **1919,** the Italian representatives left Versailles for a time because they thought their claims had not received due consideration. In September the Italian poet, D'Annunzio, seized Fiume, and there seemed grave danger of a new war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia. The Treaty of Rapallo (November 12th, **1920**) gave Italy most of her demands, made Fiume a free port, and secured for Jugo-Slavia access to the Adriatic.

H. Greece.

Greece profited by the dismemberment of Turkey and gained Macedonia, Thrace, a small part of Asia Minor, with the port of Smyrna.

I. The territory of the League of Nations in Europe.

Some difficult problems were solved by reference to the League of Nations. Dantzig, vitally important both to Poland and Prussia, and Fiume, urgently claimed by Italy and Jugo-Slavia, were placed under the authority of the League. The League took over the administration of the Saar Valley for fifteen years and the permanent control of the Dardanelles, and gave to Italy a mandate for the administration of Albania. The League of Nations conducted the plebiscites by which Malmédy, Schleswig, Silesia, and East Prussia determined their allegiance.

III. The German Colonies.

Germany lost the whole of her colonies, which were apportioned among the Allies, not, as a rule, as absolute possessors, but as mandatories of the League of Nations, to which they were required to report yearly. Mandates were also given for non-European countries which had not been German colonies, e.g. Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

A. Asia.

(1) Britain received a mandate for Palestine, which apparently is regarded as a British Protectorate; for Mesopotamia, which is to be nursed into an independent state.

(2) France received a mandate for Syria.

(3) Australia for Pacific Islands south of the Equator.

(4) Japan for Kiaochau and Pacific islands north of the Equator.

(5) New Zealand for Samoa.

B. Africa.

(1) The Union of South Africa received a mandate for German South West Africa, but "as integral portions of its territory."

(2) Great Britain for the eastern and greater portion of German East Africa, for a third of Togoland and part of the Cameroons.

(3) France for two-thirds of Togoland and part of the Cameroons.

(4) Belgium got the western portion of German East Africa.

IV. **Germany.**

A. Loss of territory.

Germany was compelled to give up all her colonies, Alsace-Lorraine, West Prussia, Posen, Upper Silesia, Dantzig, Memel, and, in accordance with the result of a plebiscite, Northern Schleswig and Malmédy. She gave up the Saar Basin for fifteen years, at the expiration of which time the inhabitants will decide by a plebiscite whether they will become part of France or Germany.

B. The Army.

The German Army was to be reduced immediately to 100,000 men, conscription was to be abolished, all armaments and munitions were to be strictly limited.

C. The Navy.

The Germans to retain only six battleships, six cruisers, twelve destroyers, and twelve torpedo-boats. Heligoland to be dismantled, and all nations to enjoy free access to the Kiel Canal.

D. Reparations.

(1) The Germans were to give ton for ton of their own merchant shipping to make up for Allied shipping sunk by their submarines.

(2) £2,000,000,000 to be paid within two years as compensation for damage done in France and Belgium, and all stolen property to be restored.

E. Trial of special offenders.

The Kaiser, and any others the Allies chose, to be surrendered for trial for military offences.

V. General.

A. Internationalism.

To the nationalism which played so important a part in the history of Europe in the nineteenth century the Treaty added the broader idea of Internationalism. The League of Nations, a great feat of constructive statesmanship, was meant to be a federation of the world deriving its power from an international conscience, and having for its object the preservation of peace. Upon its effective working the peace of the world largely depends. Its fate still hangs in the balance. The League is weakened by the lack of effective guarantees that its decrees will be enforced, by the refusal of the United States to become a member and by the fact that Germany has not yet joined, by the absence of the strong support of the majority of any nation, by the weakness or non-existence of an international conscience.

B. Nationality and self-determination.

The Treaty of Versailles accepted in theory, though not always in practice, the principles of nationality and self-determination, whereby each separate nation has the right to determine its own form of government. But the complete acceptance of the principle was made impossible because of the profound distrust the Allies felt for Germany and the necessity of preventing her further aggression. Dantzig, though German, was declared a free city under the League of Nations; many Germans in Alsace-Lorraine and East Prussia came under the authority of France or Poland; in the Balkans many people were placed under alien rule. But the plebiscites which gave Malmédy to Belgium, northern Schleswig to Denmark, Silesia and Southern Schleswig to Germany, and East Prussia to Poland, were obvious attempts to

make the principle of self-determination effective, even when that principle seemed to favour Germany.

C. Germany.

The Supreme Council of the Versailles Conference affirmed "that the immediate cause of the war was the decision deliberately taken by those responsible for German policy in Berlin, and their confederates in Vienna and Budapest, to impose a solution of a European question on the nations of Europe by threat of war, and if the other members of the Concert refused this dictation, by war itself immediately declared."

The very severe terms imposed upon Germany may be regarded as punishment for the crime of causing the war. By weakening militarism they weakened a principle which would have rendered the ideals of the League impossible of attainment.

D. Some failures.

The League has not[1] ended war; Roumania went to war with Hungary and Poland with Russia soon after the League was established. The Turks have massacred thousands of Armenians in the last twelve months. Acute economic difficulties have arisen, partly owing to problems in connection with German reparation, partly because territorial changes have interfered with the old lines of commerce, notably in Austria, which is suffering severely owing to the unwillingness of its old subjects to supply its needs.

E. Summary.

But, in spite of its shortcomings, the League of Nations does supply an alternative to war, which is bound to become more dreadful with the development of science. "If a League of Nations did not actually exist, economic necessities would oblige us sooner or later to invent one."[2] There is no doubt that the effective working of the League is an essential condition of the prosperity, peace, and happiness of the world, and the Peace of Versailles, by insisting on its importance, has set before us higher ideals than any of its predecessors. Time will show what measure of success those ideals are to secure.

[1] 1921. [2] C. E. Robinson, *A History of England* (Methuen), page 327.

THE WAR IN THE AIR

Aeroplanes and airships, like submarines, were a new factor in warfare and played a very important part. They were used to bomb enemy towns; to direct artillery fire, and especially to control the creeping barrages which were first used in **1916**: to act as scouts; to take photographs of enemy positions; to check enemy advance by machine-gun fire. They proved of great value as the eyes of the army and navy, "but as an independent force they were as limited in their effectiveness as is artillery or cavalry without the fundamental infantry."[1] Photographs taken at a great height could not always give details with the necessary accuracy, and at Festubert a night attack was held up by a deep stream which aerial photographs had failed to reveal.

I. **The British Air Force.**

A. The Royal Flying Corps.

(1) The improvement in the aeroplane[2] led the British Government to form the Royal Flying Corps, which took part in the Army Manœuvres of **1912.**

(2) **1914.** British aeroplanes proved of great value during the retreat from Mons; on September 23rd a raid was made on the Zeppelin stations at Dusseldorf; Friedrichshafen was bombed in November.

(3) **1915.** During **1915** British aircraft rendered good service on the Western front, especially at Zeebrugge January 22nd, and at the Dardanelles; on June 7th a light monoplane flown by Lieut. Warneford brought down a Zeppelin near Brussels. The French bombed the Zeppelin sheds at Karlsruhe and Stuttgart as reprisals for the raids on London and Paris; Friedrichshafen April 28th; and the explosives factory at Ludwigshafen May 27th. In squadron organisation the French were better than the British; but the personnel of the Allies was better than that of the

[1] Pollard, *A Short History of the Great War*, page 309. [2] Page 1336.

Germans. But the invention of the Fokker aeroplanes gave the Germans a distinct advantage in the air at the end of the year and greatly facilitated the concentration of their forces at Verdun.

(4) **1916.** The Royal Flying Corps made great progress in **1916.** Tactics were greatly improved ; war flying was better organised and specialised ; giant seaplanes were constructed ; De Havilland planes proved superior to Fokkers, and the introduction of the Handley-Page two-engined bombing aeroplanes in June, **1916,** restored the Allied supremacy. The Handley-Page machines had a wing span of 130 feet, a total weight of 11,000 lbs., a horse-power of 550 ; they carried twelve bombs, each weighing 112 lbs., and were manned by a pilot and two gunlayers. The value of aircraft was greatly increased by the discovery of the means of firing through the propeller. The incendiary bullets now supplied to aeroplanes proved most effective against Zeppelins.

In **1916** aeroplanes proved of great use in directing the newly invented "creeping barrages," particularly on the Somme. An inquiry showed the great value of and revealed some weaknesses in the Royal Aircraft Factory at Farnborough. French aviators dropped pamphlets in Berlin on June 20th—"We might have bombarded the open city of Berlin, and thus killed women and children, but we content ourselves simply with distributing the following proclamation"—and bombs in Essen, September 22nd, and Munich, November 17th. During the year on the Western front the Royal Flying Corps destroyed 250 aeroplanes and 27 kite balloons and made 180 bombardments. Our losses were heavy : in September, **1916,** 48 aeroplanes, and in October 42.

(5) **1917–18.** In January, **1917,** the Germans captured a Handley-Page machine and used it as a basis for the new Gothas, which proved very efficient, particularly in the raids on London. In **1917** the British Government formally adopted the policy of reprisals, and the defence of London was strengthened by the adoption of special anti-aircraft bullets.

In January, **1918,** a British Aircraft Ministry was established.

On April 1st, **1918,** the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service were merged in the Royal Air Force, and unity of

direction was thus assured. By this time the output of aeroplanes had increased over 200 per cent in twelve months.

On May 13th, **1918,** the Independent Air Force was established to bomb towns and railways behind the German lines and great damage was inflicted, particularly along the Rhine. The R.A.F. rendered most valuable service in the Third Battle of the Somme by delaying the enemy advance with machine-gun fire and dropping smoke bombs to screen the advance of tanks. During the final advance of the Allies the R.A.F. destroyed 465 German aeroplanes and 61 balloons in a month, and on October 30th, **1918,** established a record for one day by destroying 67 aeroplanes and driving 15 down out of control. Our losses were heavy. In one week in August, **1917,** we lost 49 'planes ; and the total casualties in the R.A.F. from April 12th to November 11th, **1918,** were 7589.

II. German Raids on England.

The raids aimed at the destruction of military equipment and discouragement of the civilian population, owing to the loss of life and destruction of property.

A. Zeppelin raids.

(1) The Provinces.

January 19th, **1915.** First German raid on Norfolk. During April and May, **1915,** eight attacks (one by an aeroplane) were made on Tyneside, Norfolk and Suffolk, Essex (Southend twice), Kent (Ramsgate). Further raids took place in June on the East and North East Coasts ; on January 31st, **1916,** the Midlands suffered 184 casualties ; in March and April, **1916,** the south of Scotland and the East Coast suffered severely.

(2) London.

May 31st, **1915.** The first Zeppelin raid on London. Two Zeppelins did much damage in the East End ; in September damage to the extent of half a million pounds was done in the Wood Street area. But the defences of London were strengthened. Incendiary bullets proved very effective. On September 2nd a Zeppelin was brought down in flames at Cuffley ; on September 23rd only two out of twelve got near London, and one was so

damaged by anti-aircraft fire that she came down at Billericay; on October 1st one was brought down at Potter's Bar [on November 27th two were brought down by aeroplanes, one at Hartlepool and one at sea].

In **1916** at least twelve Zeppelins were destroyed, and by the end of the year "the Zeppelin had ceased to worry the public mind."

B. Aeroplane raids.

The improvement in the German aeroplanes, and especially the introduction of the Gothas, provided a new means of attack which proved more effective than the Zeppelins. At first the aeroplane raids were made in broad daylight, but after August, by which time the defences of London had been much improved, raids were made only on moonlit nights.

The danger from air raids was greatly diminished by stringent regulations as to lighting. Householders were forbidden to show a gleam of light from their houses after sunset, public lighting was reduced to a minimum, and the safety of the streets somewhat impaired in consequence. On warning of a raid, given in London by maroons and elsewhere by varying pressure in the gas, all public lights were extinguished, blast furnaces were damped down (at a cost of probably not less than £20,000 a night at Middlesbrough), and persons striking a match in the streets became liable to imprisonment.

(1) The Provinces.

May 25th, **1917.** German aeroplanes, prevented by the weather from reaching London, killed 76 and wounded 176 at Folkestone. During the summer the coast towns of Essex and Kent were raided.

September 3rd, **1917.** The Naval Barracks at Chatham bombed —107 killed and 36 wounded.

(2) London.

November 28th, **1916.** First aeroplane attack on London.

During **1917** London was raided twelve times. On June 13th a squadron of fourteen[1] Gothas dropped 110 bombs in fifteen

[1] One account says twenty.

minutes near Liverpool Street Station, killing 157 and wounding 432 persons. The casualties included many children, whose school was struck by two bombs.

September 24th–October 1st, **1917.** During the harvest moon London became a beleaguered city and was bombed on six nights out of eight. A raid arranged for the 27th was prevented by our airmen, who bombed the Gothas in Belgium.

[October 19th. Eleven Zeppelins raided England; only one reached London, where it dropped three bombs. Six of the raiders were destroyed. The last Zeppelin raid on London.]

May 19th, **1918.** Twenty-eight aeroplanes bombed London. Ten brought down by the new tracer bullet. The last air raid on London.

III. Results.

In London the air raids caused 1788 casualties (524 killed), destroyed 174 buildings and seriously damaged 619, but did not touch any bridges. In England 1570 persons were killed and 4041 injured. But the raids failed completely to break the spirit of the civilian population in spite of casualties and the nervous shock they caused, and they proved an effective stimulus to recruiting. The raid at Chatham was the only one in which serious military damage was caused.

The Air Force gave opportunities for daring deeds of which full advantage was taken. Guynemer, the French "ace," brought down 53 German machines; Captain Albert Ball, V.C., brought down 43 aeroplanes and one balloon; Baron Manfred von Richthofen, leader of the famous squadron known as "Richthofen's Circus," brought down eighty Allied aeroplanes. All three gave their lives for their country.

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WAR PROPAGANDA

War propaganda aims at the creation in enemy countries of a favourable atmosphere ; to be successful it must follow a fixed policy, tell only the strict truth, and adapt itself to existing conditions.

As early as October, **1914,** a propaganda leaflet was distributed by aeroplane among German troops ; early in **1916** a propaganda branch of the Military Intelligence was established, and the success that followed its efforts led in February, **1918,** to the appointment of Lord Northcliffe as Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. Crewe House became the centre of the work, which was carried on by a most efficient staff in cordial co-operation with the War Office, Admiralty, Stationery Office, and other Government departments.

A. Aims.

The aims varied in certain particulars according to different conditions in different enemy countries.

(1) Germany.

The Germans were assured that the Allies were determined to fight to the end, but that the people of Germany would be mercifully treated if they surrendered ; stress was laid on the rapidly increasing number of American troops in France ; soldiers were assured of kind treatment if they were taken prisoners ; details of U-boats sunk were distributed among the sailors at Kiel ; the adequate food supplies in Britain were contrasted with the inadequacy in Berlin ; the number of German casualties was emphasised.

(2) Austro-Hungary.

The desire of parts of the empire to secure independence, the reluctance of the Slavs to fight for the Central Powers, the discontent felt by Hungarian farmers with the conditions under which they had to live, the war weariness of the Austrians, were all skilfully used to weaken the *morale* of the soldiers.

The secret Treaty of London, April, **1918,** which promised to Italy Austrian territory occupied by the Southern Slavs, proved a serious obstacle to united effort ; but the Congress of Oppressed Hapsburg Nationalities, held at Rome April, **1918,** and attended by representatives from Crewe House, and the Inter-Allied Propaganda Commission formed about the same time, removed some difficulties.

(3) Bulgaria.

Bulgaria was warned that King Ferdinand must be expelled and democratic government established as a condition of peace ; but the surrender of Bulgaria soon averted the need of propaganda.

B. Methods.

On the Austrian front aeroplanes were constantly used to drop literature which was printed in Italy in the Czech, Polish, Southern Slav, and Roumanian languages. The threat of German reprisals led our War Office to prohibit for some time the use of aeroplanes for propaganda on the Western front, but small balloons, specially constructed grenades, and rifles proved effective means of distribution.

On the Eastern front gramophones, placed within hearing of the enemy in advance trenches or No Man's Land, rendered songs likely to awake Czecho-Slovak nationalist sentiment. Dutch workmen who crossed the German frontier to get to their daily work smuggled into Germany copies of German pamphlets, such as Prince Lichtnowsky's *Meine Londoner Mission,* and much advantage was taken of the lax supervision exercised by Germany over the importation of books. In August, **1918,** an average of 100,000 leaflets a day was dropped in the German lines ; on the Eastern front " a distributing capacity of almost 1,000,000 leaflets a day was obtained."

C. Results.

(1) What the Germans called " the English poison raining down from God's clear sky," in accordance with the plans of " Northcliffe, the most thoroughgoing rascal of all the *Entente,*" greatly damaged the German *morale.* Ludendorff,[1] " The shattering of

[1] *My War Memories* (Hutchinson).

public confidence at home affected our moral readiness to fight . . . with the disappearance of our moral readiness to fight everything changed completely."

(2) On the Italian front the Allied propaganda led to much desertion and disorder in the Austrian armies, delayed the offensive on the Piave,[1] and prepared the way for the collapse of Austria in October, **1918.**

At a cost of £31,360, of which only £7946 was incurred for Crewe House, a new department of war had been established and carried on with conspicuous success.

Reference :

Secrets of Crewe House, by Stuart. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

MEDICAL SERVICE DURING THE WAR

The lessons of the South African War proved of little value in the Great War, except in regard to the treatment of enteric. The former was waged at long range, over a clean desert, in pure air ; the latter at close quarters, " in some of the richest and therefore the filthiest land in the world."[2] New conditions of war—e.g. increased velocity and size of projectiles, the greater use of high explosives, the use of gas, the importance of trench warfare—led to new problems. The medical service, like every other department of the Army, was inadequate in numbers when war broke out, but it showed great power of adapting itself to difficulties as they arose.

I. **Organisation.**

A. General.

(1) **1907.**

The organisation in **1907** by Sir A. Keogh of the medical service of the Territorial Forces made twenty-three Territorial General

[1] Page 1203.

[2] Major-General Sir W. Herringham, in *A Physician in France* (Edwin Arnold).

Hospitals and fifty-six Field Ambulances available on the outbreak of war, when 19,499 officers and men (including Regulars) were ready for service. This number reached 144,296 in November, **1918**; 12,720 civilian doctors had joined up, only 11,482 remaining in civil practice.

(2) August 12th, **1914.** The Red Cross of the Order of St. John sent out their first party of doctors and nurses to Belgium.

(3) September 12th, **1914.** An appeal for ambulances issued by the Royal Automobile Club secured 512 ambulances within five weeks.

B. Transport.

(1) **1914–15.**

Medical services were rendered at dressing stations, casualty clearing stations, base hospitals, and home hospitals, and the problem of transporting cases from the first of these to the last as comfortably and quickly as possible was very difficult. The old system of collecting wounded by stretcher-bearers, of transporting by horse ambulance to C.C.S. and thence by train to the base for shipment to England proved inadequate owing to the enormous number of casualties and to difficulties caused in **1914** by the change of base from Boulogne to Havre and back to Boulogne. Some relief was afforded by motor ambulance cars, 324 of which were sent out by the War Office by the end of **1914**, and conditions were greatly improved by the rapid provision of new base hospitals, of specially constructed hospital trains, of hospital barges for use on canals in France and Belgium, by the enlistment of civil practitioners and the reorganisation of C.C.S.'s into well-equipped advanced hospitals.

(2) **1916–17.**

Special conditions (e.g. the enormous number of casualties in the First Battle of the Somme) sometimes proved too much even for the much improved medical arrangements; but they proved most satisfactory in the battles of **1917**, when the line remained stationary or made only a slight movement.

(3) **1918.**

British medical arrangements were utterly congested during the retreat in March, and proved inadequate to deal with a virulent epidemic of influenza which broke out later ; the rapidity of the final advance over devastated country, the communications of which had been destroyed by the retreating Germans, completely disorganised the military service for a time.

C. Some figures.

(1) In **1918** in France 574,803 wounded and 980,980 sick were admitted to hospital, of whom 46,084 of the former and 8988 of the latter died.

(2) The total number of sick and wounded disembarked and distributed in England August, **1914,** to July, **1919,** was 2,655,025.

(3) At the Armistice 364,133 beds were equipped in the United Kingdom.

(4) Sixteen hospital ships were lost during the war.

II. **Medicine.**

The rate of admission for sickness in France in **1918** was 533·1 per 1000 as compared with 843 in the South African War and 589·6 in the Russo-Japanese War.

A. Incidence of disease in different areas of the war.

In France admissions to hospital for sickness were more numerous than those for wounds, and admissions for sickness in other areas than France were 14·6 times as numerous.

(1) Enteric.

The proportion of enteric cases in France declined from 3·1 per 1000 in **1915** to ·2 in **1918.** In Mesopotamia in **1916** the rate was 54·4 per 1000. In the South African War enteric cases had numbered about 25 per cent of the British forces.

(2) Dysentery.

The proportion of dysentery cases numbered 4·09 per 1000 in France in **1916** ; 63·89 in Macedonia in **1916** ; 486·56 in East Africa in **1917.**

(3) Malaria.

The proportion of malaria cases numbered 1·77 in France in 1918: 369·29 in Macedonia in 1918; 2880·9 in East Africa in 1917.

(4) General.

Typhus, typhoid, and cholera claimed very few victims in France, but a considerable number in the Near and Far East: the Russians and Turks lost vast numbers of men from this cause. But gas gangrene, shell shock, trench feet, trench fever, influenza, and meningitis claimed more victims in France than elsewhere: and there were many cases of muscular rheumatism, although very few of rheumatic fever.[1]

B. Preventive measures.

Preventive measures met with a considerable measure of success in France.

(1) Prophylaxis.

The use of vaccines was the main cause of the small number of cases of enteric, cholera, and tetanus.

(2) Sanitation.

Improved methods of sanitation had good results: the water supply was purified by hypochlorite solution: vigorous efforts were made to destroy vermin, and the importance of personal cleanliness was impressed on the troops. But it was impossible to keep the crowded dugouts clean; "uncleanliness and verminous infection have consequently been brought into special prominence during the war as causes of sick wastage"[2]; and diseases caused by lice or dirt numbered 44 per cent of the total.

C. Medical practice.

Dr. Garrison[3] says that "new and strange pathological concepts have come into play," and includes among these five-day fever, trench feet, toxic jaundices from picric acid and trinitrotoluol, the neurotic and cardiac effects of shell shock and wind contusion, gas gangrene. But few really new diseases were

[1] Herringham. [2] *Official History of the War.*
[3] *Medical Practice*, page 787.

diagnosed, although trench fever seems to have been one. The important point was that diseases hitherto rare could now be studied in such numbers as allowed bacteriological and radiologic research, and more accurate knowledge facilitated proper treatment.

The issues for the war included 113 million bandages, 171 million dressings; 300,000 pairs of sun goggles for Eastern service; 34 million cubic centimetres of vaccine. During **1916** alone twenty-one tons of quinine were issued.

D. Medical examination of Recruits.

(1) The enormous number of recruits who enlisted on the outbreak of war caused great pressure upon the doctors and led to serious faults owing to hasty examination. In December, **1914,** the number of examinations was limited for each doctor to from six to eight per hour and from thirty to forty per day.

(2) In October, **1917,** the whole system was reorganised on a civilian basis, and men were divided, according to physical fitness, into four grades.

(3) Towards the end of the war the urgent need of men led to a distinct lowering of the standard, e.g. in the case of eyesight.

III. **Surgery.**

The best results were obtained when a determined effort was made to apply the lessons already learned in industrial accident practice and to employ the technique and methods in general use in civil hospitals prior to the war. The great problem lay in the prompt application of sound principles and technical methods to the enormous numbers of casualties.

In the beginning of the war special attention was devoted to serious cases. Later, when man power became a most important factor, far greater attention was devoted to lightly wounded and walking cases, who, with adequate treatment, could soon be restored to the fighting line.

Surgery was assisted by the provision during the war of sodium hypochlorite solution for the antiseptic treatment of wounds; the localisation of projectiles in the body by the Hertz compass: the

use of sphagnum moss impregnated with perchloride of mercury instead of cotton wool, and of 53,000 yards of old railway plans for bandages[1]; the issue of first-aid outfits for tanks and aeroplanes and of 1332 portable operating tables and 528 complete X-ray outfits.

IV. **General.**

The war showed the great importance of original research, e.g. in the cases of trench fever, cerebro-spinal meningitis, and gas poisoning; and the value of mobile laboratories as a means of research. It emphasised the importance of sanitation, but showed that in war, in spite of recent medical progress, sickness is still a greater cause of wastage than wounds. It showed, too, that in time of war clinical medicine and surgery "are susceptible of a high and exquisite perfection and afford scope for the finest scientific work."

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LABOUR, 1900–20

I. **Growth of Trade Unions, 1890 1920.**

Trade Unionists, who in **1892** numbered about one and a half millions, or 4 per cent of the population, had increased by **1920** to about six millions, or 12 per cent of the population, and over 60 per cent of adult male manual workers. Their accumulated funds in **1920** amounted to about £15,000,000, or ten times as much as in **1890.**

[1] These were made of linen and proved most valuable. The oldest plans used were those of the London and Birmingham Railway, which were dated 1835.

A. Relative decline.

Every Union showed an increase in membership and funds, but changes took place in their relative positions. The Unions of cotton operatives, building trades, boot and shoe operatives, and engineers showed a relative decline in position.

B. Relative increase.

(1) A remarkable increase took place in the non-manual Unions between **1914–20.**

In **1920** both the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks (founded **1891**) and the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés (founded **1891**) had 100,000 members. The employés of Local and Central Government were enrolled in 127 separate Unions, and " practically no one below the rank of an Under-Secretary of State is held to be outside the scope of the Society of Civil Servants " ; there were fifty separate Unions of Post Office officials ; the Society of Technical Engineers, the Medico-Political Union of Doctors are registered Trade Unions ; and the Actors' Association and the National Union of Journalists have applied for affiliation to the Trades Union Congress.

Several important associations not directly connected with Trade Unionism show similar growth. The National Union of Teachers (founded **1890**) had 102,000 members in **1920** ; four Associations of Secondary Teachers (headmasters, headmistresses, assistant masters, assistant mistresses) and the Bank Officers' Guild have greatly increased in numbers.

(2) Increase in Unions of non-skilled manual workers.

By **1920** the various Unions of dockers and gasworkers included some 30 per cent of Trade Unionists, and numbered about 2,000,000 members.

(3) Women.

The number of women Trade Unionists increased from about 100,000 in **1890** to about 250,000 in **1920** ; but this figure represents only about 30 per cent of adult women workers.

(4) Miners.

By **1920** the coal miners, who numbered 900,000 Trade Unionists, had become one of the leading Unions, partly owing to the ability of Robert Smillie, who since **1912** has been President of the Miners' Federation.

(5) Railway workers.

The railway workers, who are now one of the most important forces in Trade Unionism, formed their first lasting Trade Union in **1871**; in **1892** there were fewer than 50,000 railwaymen in Trade Unions; in December, **1920,** there were 457,836.

C. Causes of increase.

The growth of Trade Unionism in the twentieth century has been due to a desire to improve unfavourable conditions of labour; to resentment caused by the Taff Vale case[1] and the Osborne Judgment;[2] to the recognition of Trade Unions as Approved Societies under the National Insurance Act of **1911,**[3] which required all insured persons to belong to an Approved Society; and to the direct negotiations carried on with Trade Unions by the Government during the Great War.

II. **Amalgamation and Federation.**

A. Amalgamation and Federation of Allied Trades.

(1) Miners.

1888. The Miners Federation of Great Britain, including Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, the Midlands, Fifeshire, and, to some extent, South Wales. Durham and Northumberland joined in **1908.**

1917. National Council of Colliery Workers other than miners, including, e.g. enginemen, mechanics, and colliery clerks.

(2) General workers.

1910. The National Transport Workers' Federation, including about thirty-six Unions of waterside transport workers.

1917. The National Federation of General Workers.

[1] Page 1238. [2] Page 1283. [3] Page 1096.

(3) Railwaymen.

1913. The National Union of Railwaymen formed "to secure the complete organisation of all workers employed on or in connection with any railways in the United Kingdom." The supreme authority was vested in a Legislative body, the Annual General Meeting, to which the Executive Committee (consisting of the President, General Secretary, and twenty-four other members) is subordinate. Voluntary District Councils, united in an unofficial National Federation of District Councils, exercise great influence locally.

The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers (founded **1880**) and the Railway Clerks' Association (founded **1897**) are not[1] members of the N.U.R.

(4) **1919.** The Union of Post Office Workers was an amalgamation of the three leading Post Office societies.

(5) **1920.** The Amalgamated Engineering Union, including the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and six allied Unions.

[(6) **1919.** Refusal of the Home Office to allow policemen to form a Union.]

B. Union of Federations.

1913. The Triple Alliance of the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Transport Workers' Federation.

C. The Trades Union Congress.

1868. The first Trades Union Congress, called at Manchester by the Manchester Trades Council, was attended by thirty-four delegates representing about 118,000 Trade Unionists.

1921. The Trades Union Congress (on which Trades Councils have not been directly represented since **1895**) held at Cardiff was attended by 823 delegates, representing 212 Unions and about six and a half million Trade Unionists.

The Trades Union Congress, the greatest of all Trade Union Federations, is important as an outward and visible sign of the solidarity of Labour and as a means of expressing the general

[1] 1921.

opinion of Trade Unionists. But it has done little to reconcile differences between Unions, to deal with parliamentary business or with problems arising from the growing power of shop stewards. The General Federation of Trade Unions which it established in **1899** has tended to become international rather than national, and political rather than industrial, and has not succeeded in becoming the bond of union which was its original purpose. The programme of the Congress is often heavily overweighted, and in consequence important resolutions are sometimes passed without due consideration. The Trades Union Congress is "rather a parade of Trade Union forces than a genuine Parliament of Labour."[1]

D. General.

While the movement towards federation has greatly strengthened Trade Unionism, the full effect of federation has been weakened by several causes.

(1) Local interests are still strong.

Shop stewards, originally card inspectors, during the war often made their own arrangements for conditions of work, especially in engineering shops, and sometimes promoted local strikes, particularly on the Clyde.

(2) Sectional interests have led to difficulties.

The action of the National Union of Railwaymen in admitting printers and bookbinders in railway printing works has been strongly resented by Unions of the Trades concerned.

(3) Friction has arisen between Federations and allied Unions, e.g. between the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers; between members of the same Federation, e.g. **1915,** secession of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers from the General Federation of Trade Unions.

(4) **1921.** The refusal of the National Union of Railwaymen to join a general strike in support of the coal miners weakened the Triple Alliance.

[1] Webb.

III. **The Taff Vale Case, the Osborne Judgment, and the Sankey Commission.**

A. The Taff Vale case, **1901.**

(1) August, **1900.** Owing to the dismissal of a signalman the Taff Vale railwaymen came out on strike without giving due notice and were guilty of tumultuous picketing. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants did not authorise the strike, but supported it. The strike lasted ten days and was amicably settled.

(2) The Taff Vale Railway Company brought an action for damages against the A.S.R.S. (not the strikers), and the House of Lords, in **1901,** decided that any Trade Union, although not incorporated, incurred "complete corporate liability for any injury or damage caused by any person who could be deemed to be acting as the agent of the Union." Any strike, therefore, could be made the occasion for a claim for damages.

(3) The A.S.R.S. had to pay £23,000 damages and £19,000 costs.

B. The Osborne Judgment, **1909.**

(1) July, **1908.** W. V. Osborne, a railway employé and a member of the A.S.R.S., brought an action to prevent that Society from using its funds for political purposes, and maintained that such use was beyond the powers of a Trade Union.

(2) December, **1909.** The House of Lords decided in favour of Osborne. The crux of the situation was the interpretation of a clause in the Trade Union Act of **1876**: "The term Trade Union means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen or masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing conditions on the conduct of any trade or business." Lord James of Hereford held that this "was not a clause of limitation or exhaustive definition"; but the majority of the judges held that the clause set forth all that Trade Unions could do and prevented them from doing anything not specified in it. According to this interpretation Trade Unions could not legally engage in political, educational, or municipal affairs, and their powers were greatly limited in consequence.

"The practical effect of the judgment is to confine Trade Unions to the conduct of strikes and to those activities which can be argued to be subsidiary to that end."[1]

C. The Sankey Commission, **1919.**

(1) February, **1919.** The Miners' Federation demanded the nationalisation of the mines, a 30 per cent increase in wages, and a six-hour working day, and gave notice of a miners' strike to start March 16th. The strike was deferred on the Prime Minister's promise that a Statutory Committee should investigate and report by March 31st.

(2) The Committee consisted of three mineowners, three members nominated by the Miners' Federation, six disinterested members (three nominated by the Government and three by the Miners' Federation), and the Chairman, Sir John Sankey.

(3) The Government accepted "The Sankey Report" of the Chairman, the mean between the two extreme Reports presented by representatives of the men and masters, which recommended a seven-hour day for two years and then a six-hour day, an increase in wages of two shillings per day for men and one shilling for boys, and asserted that "even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned."

A ballot of the Miners' Federation resulted in the acceptance of these terms.

(4) The Commission then considered the question of nationalisation. Four Reports were presented, and all recommended that royalties should be abolished and that workmen should receive a share in the management. Seven members (including the Chairman) advocated the State Ownership of coal mines.

This Commission, which was a trial of the coal mining industry, "with its searching evidence and its very important findings, takes rank as one of the most important achievements of organised labour."[2]

[1] *The Making of Modern England*, Slater (Constable), page 266.
[2] *The Pageant of England*, 1900–20, Raynes (Swarthmore Press), p. 242.

IV. Labour Legislation, 1900–20.

A. The Trades Disputes Act, 1906.

Trade Unionists strongly resented the judgment in the Taff Vale case, and many members elected to Parliament in **1906** were pledged to support a change in the law. The Trades Disputes Act provided—

(1) That actions legal for an individual should be legal for a combination of individuals; this legalised, e.g. peaceful picketing.

(2) That Trade Union funds should not be liable to actions for damages.

Employers and lawyers vainly opposed the Act on the ground that it gave undue privileges to one section of the community.

B. The Trade Boards Act, 1908.

Appointed Boards to fix the minimum wage in four sweated industries in which women were largely employed, and led to a substantial improvement in the industrial status of women.

C. The Coal Mines or the Eight Hours Bill, 1908.

Limited the working hours of coal miners to eight per day. A great triumph for the Miners' Federation, which thus secured recognition of a principle advocated by the cotton spinners as early as **1834.**

D. The Minimum Wage Bill, 1912.

Following a national strike of miners the Government brought in a Bill appointing Joint Boards of masters and men to fix minimum wages for each district.

E. The Trade Union Act, 1913.

Due to the resentment of Trade Unionists to the limitations imposed on the activities of their Unions by the Osborne Judgment of **1909.** It enabled Unions to undertake any lawful policy, provided—

(1) that they fulfilled the main conditions of the Act of **1876**;
(2) that payments for certain political objects should be —

(*a*) made out of a special fund, subscriptions to which should be voluntary;

(*b*) approved by a majority of members voting by ballot.

F. The Whitley Report, **1917.**

The Whitley Report, which was accepted by the Government, recommended the establishment of National, District, and Works Councils (on which both employers and employed were represented) to consider conditions of employment, wages, technical education, and industrial legislation. It emphasised the need of giving workpeople a share in the direction of industry. Whitley Councils have been established in a number of trades and in the public service, but the principal industries (e.g. mining, cotton, and engineering) have not put the recommendations of the Report into practice, and its effect has not realised expectations.

V. **Political Development.**

Before **1880** Trade Unions tended to become benefit societies rather than aggressive organisations, although quite ready to strike when they deemed a strike essential; from **1890** there was a marked tendency towards State Socialism, and the Trades Union Congress of that year advocated the extension of municipal functions as a means of improving social conditions. Since **1900** Trade Unionism has become a political force, and this is largely due to a development of class consciousness, to a growing distrust of both the Liberal and Conservative Parties, whom Trade Unionists tend to regard as landlords and capitalists, and to the extension of the franchise, which has greatly increased the Labour vote.

Trade Unionists exercised considerable influence not only on the legislation specified above, but also on social measures, e.g. the Old Age Pensions Act, **1908,** the National Insurance Act, **1911.**

A. The Independent Labour Party.

J. Keir Hardie, an ardent Socialist, advocated the establishment of a Labour Political Party independent of both Liberals and Conservatives. He was elected as Independent Labour M.P. (the first on record) for West Ham, **1892,** and was the founder of

the I.L.P., which held its first annual Conference at Bradford in **1893,** and in the General Election of **1895** put forward twenty-eight candidates, all of whom, including Keir Hardie, were defeated. The Trade Unions generally did not support the new Socialist and Independent movement, and Labour M.P.'s generally voted with the Liberals.

B. The Labour Party.

(1) The Labour Party in Parliament.

1900. Establishment of the Labour Representative Committee independent of the Trades Congress, and including Trade Unionists, Socialists, and Co-operators. Great increase in its membership owing to the Taff Vale case.[1]

1906. Twenty-nine out of fifty Labour candidates successful in the General Election. Beginning of the Labour Party in Parliament, which in **1912** found a valuable organ in the *Daily Citizen.*

1906–14. The Labour Party suffered owing to its lack of a definite programme and differences between Socialist (especially members of the I.L.P., a constituent society of the Labour Party) and non-Socialist members. Its action in Parliament proved far less effective than had been hoped, and in **1914** the prospect of its successful continuance seemed doubtful.

(2) The War and the Labour Party.

Although some extremists adopted a pacifist policy, the Labour Party as a whole supported the Government, although they did not fail to defend the rights of Trade Unions when such defence seemed necessary. Their position as the representatives in Parliament of Trade Unionists greatly increased their influence and several became Cabinet Ministers : Arthur Henderson (Iron-founders), President of the Board of Education, **1915,** and a member of the War Cabinet, **1916** ; G. N. Barnes (Engineers), Minister of Pensions, **1916**, and member of the War Cabinet, in succession to Henderson, **1917.**

John Hodge (Steel-smelters) became the first Minister of Labour, **1916.**

[1] Page 1283.

The action of these, and other Trade Unionists, in taking office in Coalition Cabinets was approved at Labour Conferences, but on the conclusion of hostilities Barnes and three others who refused to resign their offices were excluded from the Labour Party.

(3) **1918.** The formal adoption of a comprehensive Socialist programme dealing with home and foreign affairs and the issue of suggested terms of peace by the Labour Party gave it a definite political policy.

(4) Weakness of the Labour Party.

At the General Election of December, **1918,** only 63 out of 361 Labour candidates were elected, although they polled 2,301,730 votes as compared with 5,226,395 votes recorded for the 502 Coalition M.P.'s. But, with the exception of 73 Sinn Fein members who never took their seats, the Labour Party was the largest party in opposition and claimed to be regarded as His Majesty's Opposition. But it proved somewhat ineffective in Parliament, partly because of differences between it and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress and between the I.L.P. and the rest of the Labour Party; partly because Labour M.P.'s naturally felt that their permanent posts as Trade Union officials had a stronger claim upon them than their Parliamentary duties, which might be only temporary.

C. Direct Action.

Direct action has come to mean the use of the strike to coerce the Government in matters other than industrial.

(1) **1918.** Refusal of the National Union of Sailors and Firemen to allow Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson to go to Petrograd as directed by the Government.

(2) **1919.** The Miners' Federation threatened to withdraw all labour from the mines unless compulsory military service was abolished and the Government abstained from military operations against the Bolshevik Government.

Direct Action is supported by a minority of Trade Unionists who plead their cause with much vigour. But the majority dis-

approve of such action, and the strong disapproval of the ordinary citizen is due to the fact that Trade Unionists, who form a large proportion of the electors, have an opportunity of choosing M.P.'s to support their cause in the House of Commons.

VI. Industrial Development, 1900–20.

During the last twenty years Trade Unions have aimed not only at improving conditions of labour, but at securing a share in the direction of industry, extending the principle of nationalisation, and "superseding the capitalist profit maker as the governor and director of industry," e.g.

1914. The Trades Congress demanded for the National Union of Railwaymen "control and responsibility in the safe and efficient working of the railway system."

1919. The Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association claimed the right of "directing the technical improvement of the service for the good of the community."

Some extremists desired industrial revolution. James Connolly in **1905** started the Socialist Labour Party on the Clyde "to build up an industrial revolution," and Syndicalism found a champion in Tom Mann, who about **1910** aimed at bringing about social and industrial revolution by a "general strike of national proportions." Syndicalism advocates the combination into one great Union of all workers, skilled or unskilled, engaged in one great industry, in order to secure not only better conditions of labour, but also responsibility for management. British Syndicalism, unlike continental, is national rather than international. It prefers industrial to parliamentary action, and "sees no reason for limiting the demand of the labourer to what the employer can concede."[1]

Serious difficulties arose, although some grievances were remedied by legislation.[2]

A. The railway crisis of **1907**.

Railway directors refused to recognise the Amalgamated Society of Railway Workers as the general representative of

[1] *The Making of Modern England*, page 268. [2] IV. above.

railwaymen on the ground that it included only one-fifth of the total number, and maintained that each company must deal separately with complaints of its own men. The society threatened a general strike, but this was averted by Lloyd George, President of the Board of Trade. An agreement was made which provided—

(1) That railwaymen should be grouped according to the nature of their work.

(2) That a Conciliation Board, including representatives of masters and men, should be formed for each group on each railway.

(3) That a Central Board, including representatives of masters and men and with an independent Chairman, should be appointed on each railway to settle disputes.

Although the A.S.R.W. did not secure formal recognition, the concession of representation on the Boards marked a substantial advance on the part of the men.

Under this agreement some grievances as to wages and hours of labour were redressed, but complaints were made that the Boards worked too slowly and that the companies invented new grades of employment with unsatisfactory rates of wages; that the agreed wages of railwaymen were inadequate. The prevailing discontent was aggravated by the Osborne Judgment, **1909,** and in **1911** the four railway Unions called a national strike. Owing to strong pressure put by Government upon the directors the strike was settled. Provision was made for the speedy settlement of disputes by the Boards; the Unions were not formally recognised, but the men were allowed to choose as their secretaries on the Boards any person they liked, i.e. men's officials were recognised.

B. The Railway Strike, **1911.**

A general strike proclaimed at twenty-four hours' notice, owing to dissatisfaction with the working of the Conciliation Boards, established in **1904.** A special Commission, the success of which was largely due to Lloyd George, dealt successfully with the difficulty.

C. The London Transport Workers' strike, **1911.**

The newly formed National Transport Workers' Federation organised a strike of the transport workers of the Port of London on the question of wages. The Government compelled the Port of London authorities to meet the men, who, through the arbitration of Sir Albert Rollitt, M.P., secured the advances they demanded, dockers receiving 8d. per hour instead of 6d., and 1s. per hour for overtime.

The Federation called the men out again in **1912** on the plea that the agreement of **1911** had not been carried out, but the strike failed mainly owing to Lord Devonport's opposition.

D. Growing Labour unrest, **1911–14.**

Owing to disappointment with the weakness of the Labour Party in Parliament, dissatisfaction with national executives, the development of "localism," the growing power of shop stewards, and the advocacy of Syndicalism and Direct Action, serious discontent became manifest, and about the end of **1913** nearly 150 strikes broke out each month. An immediate crisis was averted by the outbreak of the war, during which the Government frequently negotiated directly with Trade Unions on industrial questions, and made provision for the direct representation of the Unions on the many Committees established to deal with employment, munitions, pensions, etc. The Unions showed their patriotism by accepting (though with natural reluctance) military conscription and the industrial conscription enforced by the Munitions Acts of **1915, 1916,** and **1917.**

E. The Railway Strike of **1919.**

On February 1st, **1919,** the railwaymen secured an eight-hour day, but serious trouble arose owing to the question of the war bonus, which the Government proposed to continue for members of the Locomotive and Firemen's Union, but not for members of the National Union of Railwaymen. The strike lasted from September 26th to October 3rd. The terms of settlement provided that no wages should be reduced until September 30th, **1920 ;** that a minimum of 51s. per week should be paid to adult railwaymen ; that a Central Board of ten (including five repre-

sentatives of the two railway Unions) should deal with questions of conditions of service ; and that an Appeals Board of twelve, of whom one-third were nominated by the Unions, with a Chairman appointed by the Government, should decide questions which the Central Board failed to settle.

Thus the Unions secured direct representation on Boards superior in authority to those managing particular railways.

VII. **The Position of Trade Unionism in 1920.**

From **1900–20** the position of Trades Unionism was materially improved.

A. A marked improvement was effected in industrial conditions ; wages were increased ; hours of work diminished : the principle of the co-operation of workmen in the direction of industry was recognised ; the Federations of Unions (though still weakened by localism and sectionalism) consolidated their forces.

B. Its legal position was strengthened by laws which gave to Trade Unionists the powers they had vainly sought to establish in the Taff Vale (**1901**) and Osborne cases (**1909**).

C. The political power of Trade Unionism was shown in the influence it exerted on legislation and in the growth of the Labour Party.

D. It has secured great power locally (largely owing to the work of local Trades Councils) ; every town and county council has Labour members, who in some cases constitute the majority ; many Trade Unionists have been made magistrates, and direct representation is accorded to Labour on many public bodies.

" We may, in fact, not unfairly say that Trade Unionism has, in **1920,** won its recognition by Parliament and the Government, by law, and by custom as a separate element in the community, entitled to distinct recognition as part of the social machinery of the State."[1]

E. Some weaknesses.

(1) In industry Trade Unionists have sometimes failed to realise

[1] *History of Trade Unionism*, Webb (Longmans), page 635.

the necessity of Capital as a condition of production and the right of Capital to a just share in profits ; locally they have shown great zeal for social and educational development, but have not always counted the cost. The Parliamentary work of the Labour Party has not proved as effective as was hoped, although some of the Labour Cabinet Ministers have shown great administrative capacity. Trade Unionists have sometimes, like the nobles and middle class in earlier years, tended to promote class rather than national interests.

(2) The power of Trade Unionism is somewhat weakened by the method of selecting the chief Union officials. Local officials dealing with the local problems of particular trades often do admirable work, and local leaders are often elected to the higher posts of Unions and Federations ; but success in comparatively limited local conditions does not necessarily involve the power of dealing with the wider national problems which the Unions and Federations have to consider, and the Trade Union movement has suffered from inefficient leadership. Ruskin College at Oxford and the Workers' Educational Union have been established to give a wider training to prospective leaders.

(3) The salaries of the chief officials are inadequate (usually £400–£600 per annum, although £1000 in the case of the N.U.R.), and " one of the misfortunes of the working class movement is that petty jealousies prevent the workers from respecting their own."[1] Such petty jealousies have divided forces and seriously impaired the efficiency of the Trade Union movement.

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[1] J. H. Thomas, reported in the *Yorkshire Post*, January 16th, 1922.

IRELAND, 1900–20

I. The British Parliament and Ireland.

A. Home Rule.

Liberals generally continued to advocate Home Rule, for which the Irish Parliamentary Party, or Nationalists, under John Dillon, strove unceasingly. The Irish Reform Association, formed by Lord Dunraven in **1904,** advocated the devolution of authority to a new Irish deliberative body, and, though unsuccessful, seemed to indicate a new attitude on the part of the Unionists. The Irish Councils Bill of **1905** gave considerable powers to County Councils, with the probability of the further devolution of power. But this attempt to give "Home Rule by instalments" failed, and the Bill was withdrawn. The strength of the Nationalists in the British Parliament in **1910**[1] was followed in **1912** by the introduction of a Home Rule Bill, which was finally passed by the Lords, after one rejection, in **1914.** It provided—

(*a*) That there should be an Irish Parliament of two chambers, the Lower elected, the Upper nominated by the Executive; its acts to be subject to the veto of the Lord Lieutenant and amendment by the British Parliament.

(*b*) The Irish Parliament was not to deal with questions of peace and war, the army, navy and treaties; the direction of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Old Age Pensions, and National Insurance might be transferred later.

(*c*) The British Parliament to be the main taxing authority, but the Irish Parliament to have some power of variation.

(*d*) Forty-two Irish members to sit at Westminster.

The Protestants of Ulster strongly protested against what they regarded as separation from the Empire and viewed with dismay the prospect of an Irish Parliament in which Roman Catholics would constitute the majority.

The Act was a substantial concession to the Nationalists, but was adversely criticised on the grounds that the financial pro-

[1] Page 1093.

vision for the Irish Parliament was inadequate and that the powers of that Parliament were so limited that the Bill was only a "Gas and Water Bill." The suspension of the Act in **1914, 1915,** and **1916** caused great disappointment.

B. The Land.

(1) Wyndham's Land Purchase Act, **1903.**

Created a fund of £10,000,000, out of which landlords who wished to sell their land were to be paid. The Act led to a great increase in the sale of land, but difficulties arose owing to the high price at which land was sold and to the depreciation of the Irish stock. The Irish Land Act of **1909** met these difficulties by providing that Irish landlords should be paid in cash. The Act has made over a quarter of a million tenants into owners of their holdings.

(2) The Town Tenants' Act, **1906.**

Protected town tenants from unjust eviction and gave compensation for disturbance.

(3) The Evicted Tenants' Act, **1907.**

Made provision for the restoration of evicted tenants.

C. Other Legislation.

(1) The Irish Universities Act, **1908.**

Created a National University in Dublin, and remodelled and re-endowed Queen's University in Belfast.

(2) The Old Age Pensions Act, **1908,** applied to Ireland.

D. Agriculture.

(1) Congested Districts.

A Congested District was a "rural slum" in which uneconomic holdings predominated. Congested Districts Boards (established **1891**) had improved conditions by facilitating the supply of seeds and developing village industry. Commissioners were empowered in **1903** to purchase and administer congested estates, and in **1909** these powers were made compulsory.

(2) The Irish Labourers' Act, **1906.**

Assisted labourers to build cottages and buy land.

(3) The Government Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, **1899.**

(*a*) The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, **1889.**

Established by Sir Horace Plunkett to promote co-operation in the production and distribution of agricultural produce. It improved farming, established creameries and co-operative banks ; worked through co-operative societies, of which about 900, with a membership of over 100,000, had been formed by **1919.** It " not only fostered economic development by cheapening production ; it also affected social relations by helping to create a new unit of social life."

(*b*) The success of the Society led in **1899** to the foundation of the Government Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which established a Council of Agriculture, with Advisory Boards for Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and empowered County Councils to carry out the schemes of the Department.

(*c*) Although this movement met with some opposition from the Nationalists, who feared that it would weaken their position and divert attention from Home Rule, and although it tended to promote the interests of the agricultural at the expense of the urban population, it did excellent work. It fostered the economic development of Ireland, increased the amount of tillage by nearly 50 per cent from **1904** to **1913,** and improved the tone of social life in rural districts.

E. Growth of Local Government.

The Irish Local Government Act, **1898.**

Established a system of Local Government through County, Urban, and Rural District Councils. Local Government passed from the landlords to the tenant and peasant class, who were brought into further relations with the Government through the Council of Agriculture, and who received some experience of self-government in the newly formed co-operative societies.

F. Finance.

For many years since the Union in **1800**[1] Ireland had had to bear an undue proportion of the taxation of the United Kingdom. But since **1914,** owing to the operation of the Old Age Pensions and Insurance Acts, Ireland has been drawing from Great Britain.

G. General.

The condition of Ireland improved greatly from **1900–14.** Agriculture was very prosperous; emigration declined from 750,000 (**1881–91**) to 330,000 (**1901–11**); Home Rule had been granted, though not put into force. But the prospects of the settlement of the Irish Question were wrecked by the growth of Nationalism and by the Ulster revolt.

II. **Nationalism.**

The Irish Parliamentary Party[2] desired Home Rule, but not complete separation from Great Britain; their leader, John Redmond, M.P. for Waterford, said: "We do not want to discontinue our representation in the House of Commons." Their objects were political and not economic; they did not claim independence for Ireland. They opposed the National movement which asserted that Ireland was a distinct nation and which gradually became separatist and revolutionary. They represented the shop-keeping interest and had little sympathy with the new movements.

The growth of Nationalism was due to several causes.

A. The predecessors of Sinn Fein.

(1) The Gaelic Athletic Association, **1884.**

A political association which endeavoured to weaken the influence of England by reviving old Irish games.

(2) The Gaelic League, **1893.**

Aimed at "establishing a new nation on the map of Europe," and advocated the revival of the Irish language and literature as

[1] *Notes on British History*, Vol. IV, page 649.

[2] This is often called the Nationalist Party, but the term Irish Parliamentary Party is used in this note to avoid confusion with the parties that demanded National Government for Ireland.

a means of strengthening national feeling. This "Young Ireland movement" was non-political and non-sectarian, but it strengthened the tendency to Separatism.

(3) Cumann na n Gaedhal.

A combination of political clubs which advocated Separatism and was guided by the *United Irishman*, founded **1899,** edited by Arthur Griffith, whose literary ability, sympathy with Irish literature, and strong political feeling made Cumann na n Gaedhal "the transition from the Gaelic League to Sinn Fein." He opposed Free Trade, which would bind Ireland more closely to Great Britain, protested against the representation of Ireland in the British House of Commons, denounced the policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party as "half bluster, half whine," and, in articles on "The Resurrection of Hungary," **1904,** set forth a practical programme. He urged that Ireland should, following the example of Hungary, weaken British influence by establishing her own voluntary courts and a National Bank, purchase Irish and not British goods, abstain from alcoholic drink and thus diminish the revenue, and establish Irish schools.

B. Sinn Fein, November 28th, **1905.**

(1) The need of an organisation strong enough to carry out this programme led to the formation of a National Council, November 28th, **1905,** and this marks the formal establishment of Sinn Fein, "Ourselves," although many of the aims and activities of the earlier societies coincided with those of Sinn Fein, to the actual beginning of which no fixed date can be assigned.

(2) Sinn Fein at first was neither revolutionary in principle nor illegal in method. It objected "not to British misgovernment, but to British Government in Ireland"; tried to secure legislative freedom by extra parliamentary, but peaceful, action; declared in the Constitution of **1905,** that "we are a distinct nation." It demanded at first not complete independence, but a revival of Grattan's Parliament of **1782.**

(3) Although in **1905** Sinn Fein secured a considerable amount of support, its influence gradually declined. The legislation of **1900–12** had greatly improved the condition of the country and

strengthened the position of the Irish Parliamentary Party ; the Home Rule Bill of **1912** seemed to have put an end to the possibility of independence ; Sinn Fein was weakened by a suspicion that it was anti-clerical ; the Irish Labour Party regarded Sinn Fein as unsympathetic towards the urban workers, and particularly resented the attitude of Griffith towards the Wexford strike of **1911.** The general result was that " from **1910** to **1913** the Sinn Fein movement was practically moribund."

C. Irish Labour.

(1) James Connolly.

The development of Irish Labour was due to James Connolly, a man of great intellectual power who had been a navvy, a pedlar, a tramp, and a dustman in the employ of the Corporation of Edinburgh. In **1896** he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which aimed at organising Labour on Trade Union lines with a view to political action. In **1903–07** he lived in America, where he founded the Irish Socialist Federation and joined the International Workers of the World, a body of extremists whose aims were both international and socialistic. In **1908** he founded the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, of which the *Harp* (edited by Connolly, with James Larkin as sub-editor) was the organ, and Liberty Hall, Dublin, the headquarters.

(2) Labour and Sinn Fein.

The new Irish Labour Party, like Sinn Fein, appealed to Gaelic tradition, asserted that Ireland was a nation, and strongly opposed the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Home Rule Bill of **1912.** Connolly's movement was national (with a prospect of becoming international), socialistic, and revolutionary. But its basis was economic ; he asserted " that the Irish question was at bottom an economic question, and that the economic struggle must first be able to function nationally before it could function internationally." He declared that the Irish risings in the past had all failed because " the middle class doctrinaires " who promoted them had failed to understand the social question ; claimed that " the entire ownership of land in Ireland is vested in the people of Ireland " ; considered that Sinn Fein showed little

consideration for Labour ; blamed the Gaelic League for failing to secure fair conditions of work in the Irish manufactures they established.

Connolly's combination of Socialism with national feeling and tradition created a new atmosphere.

III. The Ulster Revolt.

A. Causes.

The Home Rule Bill of **1912** led to the Ulster Revolt. The main cause was the fear that Home Rule would lead to the oppression of the Protestant minority by the Roman Catholic majority ; but other causes were the fear that the agricultural interest would be predominant in a Home Rule Parliament and that the industries of Ulster would suffer in consequence ; the desire of Ulstermen to maintain the close connection with England and to insist on " their rights as British subjects " under the Act of Union.

B. Course.

(1) Under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, Ulster made a Covenant in September, **1913,** to oppose " the conspiracy of Home Rule " ; 200,000 men swore to support the Covenant ; drilling began ; an army of 100,000 men, called the Ulster Volunteers, was formed and organised for active service ; a Provisional Government, composed of a Council of 400 and an Executive of 5, was established to take over the government of Ulster the day the Act became effective.

(2) In the spring of **1914** the Government seemed likely to put down the Ulster revolt by armed force, but some of the officers of the Curragh Camp refused to serve against Ulster, and the War Minister, Sir John French, resigned March 25th, the Prime Minister taking his portfolio. On April 24th, **1914,** rifles and ammunition from Hamburg were secretly landed at Larne and distributed over Ulster within twenty-four hours. The British Government took no steps to punish those concerned, but contented itself with protesting against the " unprecedented outrage." A Home Rule Amending Bill, enabling the six Protestant

counties of Ulster to vote themselves temporarily out of the operation of the Home Rule Bill, was passed by the Commons and, with amendments, by the Lords in July, but was held up pending a Conference opened by the King in Buckingham Palace on July 21st. The Conference proved a failure owing to the difficulty of deciding on the area to be excluded. The outbreak of the war with Germany averted civil war in Ireland.

C. Effects.

The failure of the British Government to put down the Ulster Revolt had very serious consequences. The example of armed resistance to the British Government which Ulster gave led to

(1) The formation of the Irish Volunteers, November 25th, **1913.**

The National Party, holding that " the Orangeman with a rifle is a much less ridiculous figure than the Nationalist without one," formed, with the approval of Sinn Fein, the Irish Volunteers, November 25th, **1913,** " to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland without distinction of creed, class, or politics." They disclaimed hostility towards Ulster and asserted that the Volunteer movement in Ulster established " the principle that Irishmen have the right to decide and govern their own national affairs." The British Government, who had failed to check the gun-running at Larne on July 26th, **1914,** tried unsuccessfully to stop the landing of rifles and ammunition for the Irish Volunteers at Howth, near Dublin. Three civilians were killed on this " Black Sunday."

The great Dublin strike of **1913,** though not successful, " helped to give the workers of Ireland their place in the front ranks of the world army of militant and insurgent Labour." It was immediately followed by the formation of the Citizen Army, the armed force of the Labour Party.

(2) The Citizen Army.

In order " that Labour might no longer be defenceless," the Citizen Army was reorganised in March, **1914.**

(3) The revival of Sinn Fein.

The success of the Irish Volunteers, the strong opposition of

the National party to the Partition of Ireland proposed by the Prime Minister gave new life to Sinn Fein. Its finances were restored by contributions from America, and it now demanded not simply Grattan's Parliament, but the complete independence of Ireland ; it " ceased to be a purely intellectual movement, and became an active revolutionary force." Its position was still weakened by lack of union with the Labour Party, who kept the Citizen Army distinct from the Irish Volunteers, in the formation of which they had not been invited to participate.

IV. **Ireland and the War.**

A. The Irish Parliamentary Party.

The Irish Parliamentary Party were loyal to Great Britain. Redmond pledged the Irish to give help, and largely owing to his influence many volunteered from the Ulster Volunteers and the Irish Volunteers, on the Committee of which he had secured considerable influence. He utterly disapproved of the Dublin Rebellion, and on March 17th, **1917,** realising the grave danger of revolution, urged that the Home Rule Bill, which had received the Royal signature in **1914,** should be put into force " without further delay." His request was refused, and he and his party left the House of Commons in protest. He died on March 16th, **1918,** but his influence had been greatly weakened for some time.

B. Sinn Fein.

(1) Sinn Fein strongly resented Redmond's promise of Irish help and declared that " Ireland is not at war with Germany," and " we serve neither King nor Kaiser." Opposition to England was strengthened by the admission of Carson to the Cabinet in **1915,** the pressure of war taxation, and the fear of conscription. Many of the Irish Volunteers refused to enlist and united with the Citizen Army at the end of **1915.** Germany promised to supply arms through Sir Roger Casement, the Irish-Americans sent the necessary money, and the consequence of all this was

(2) The Dublin Revolt, April 24th–29th, **1916.**

Casement landed on April 21st (Good Friday), but was captured (and subsequently shot). Professor MacNeill therefore counter-

manded the armed demonstration which had been planned, but Connolly hoisted the Irish flag on Liberty Hall, and the Dublin Revolt began. It aimed at seizing Dublin and stirring up revolution in Ireland while the Germans attacked the east coast of England. It lasted six days, during which great damage was done to Dublin ; 106 soldiers were killed and 334 wounded, while at least 180 civilians were killed and 614 wounded. The revolt was the work mainly of Connolly and the Labour Party. Sinn Fein supplied the atmosphere of revolt, but did not take a formal part. The attempt was a failure, and "after the rising was crushed it is questionable whether the fortunes of Republicanism in Ireland had ever been at so low an ebb." But the Government failed to make use of its opportunity.

(3) The growth of Sinn Fein.

After the rebellion 3000 Irishmen were arrested ; fifteen, including Connolly, were executed after secret trial ; several, including De Valera, were condemned to penal servitude for life. The executions without public trial and the arrest of many innocent persons roused a storm of indignation. National feeling was also roused by the fact that the pledges the Government had given to Ulster seemed to involve the partition of Ireland. The vacillation of the Government, which imprisoned and released suspects according to the mood of the moment, weakened their power, and conscription seemed likely to be enforced. To the strong feeling aroused by these causes Sinn Fein, which hitherto had been "less of an organisation than a spirit," gave strong expression and soon became more powerful than ever. In March, **1917,** a National Assembly in Dublin demanded the representation of Ireland as an independent nation at the Peace Conference, and on November 1st Eamon de Valera was elected President of Sinn Fein, which now numbered 250,000 men.

Sinn Fein refused, although the Irish Labour Party agreed, to send representatives to a Conference of Irishmen called by Lloyd George in the autumn of **1917** to draw up a scheme of government for Ireland. The Conference broke down, according to Sir Horace Plunkett, because of "Customs and Ulster." The death of John Redmond, March 6th, **1918,** removed a strong opponent of

Sinn Fein; and the Conscription Bill of April, **1918**, united Sinn Fein, the small Irish Parliamentary Party, and the Roman Catholic Bishops in opposition to the British Government. Towards the end of **1918** Labour definitely united with Sinn Fein, and at the election their combined forces returned 73 members (out of 106), all pledged to support Irish Independence and to abstain from attending the British Parliament.

V. Sinn Fein in Power.

A. The Government of Sinn Fein.

July 22nd, **1919.** The Dail Eirann, or Constituent Assembly, composed of the twenty-nine Sinn Fein M.P.'s who were at liberty, met in Dublin, proclaimed the independence of the Irish Republic, on behalf of which it appealed to the League of Nations, and, in marked distinction from the "tame cat" methods of the old Irish Parliamentary Party, tried to set up its own Government and to secure arms for active resistance.

Sinn Fein now proved less academic and more practical than in its earlier years. It established, first, Courts of Arbitration, and then Civil and Criminal Courts, and these, supported by Sinn Fein police, checked the cattle raiding in congested areas; it set up a National Land Bank; took measures for regulating the drink traffic. The general result was the "utter and complete collapse of the administration of law" in many parts of the country; but Sinn Fein, although its methods were illegal, showed that it had a far better grasp of realities than any previous national Irish party. It still received financial support from the United States, and, having failed to secure representation at the Peace Conference, entered into negotiations with the Soviet Government in Russia.

B. The Terror.

Aided by American "gunmen," Sinn Feiners attacked the barracks of the Royal Irish Constabulary to secure arms. The murder of policemen and soldiers led to violent reprisals. To support the R.I.C., the British Government formed a new force of demobilised soldiers, called "Black and Tans," because they

wore khaki and black Glengarry caps, and later a Special Auxiliary Force of ex-officers. Between January 1st and June 11th, **1921,** 322 soldiers and policemen were killed and 450 wounded ; while the Republicans lost 567 in killed alone. Up to July, **1921,** the latter had destroyed 86 court-houses and 547 constabulary barracks. Much property had been destroyed by both sides.

VI. **The Government of Ireland Act, 1920.**

Established a Northern Parliament with 52 members, and a Southern with 128 ; 42 Irish members to sit in the British Parliament. On June 22nd, **1921,** the King and Queen opened the Northern Parliament at Belfast, and the King appealed to "all Irishmen . . . to forgive and forget and join in making for the land which you love a new era of peace and contentment and goodwill."

On July 20th Lloyd George offered to Ireland full Dominion status, reserving for the Imperial Parliament some control in the Navy and Army, enforcing Free Trade between Ireland and Great Britain, and making Ireland responsible for a share in the National Debt. De Valera refused the offer and demanded "complete detachment." As a result of further Conferences, and in spite of the violent opposition of extreme Republicans, Sinn Fein accepted the Prime Minister's terms, January 7th, **1922.**

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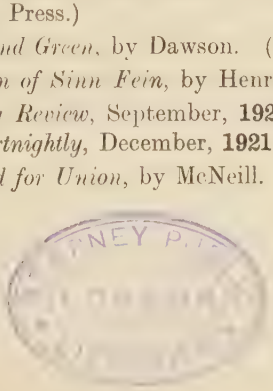

IMPERIALISM

1. The growth of Imperialism.

A. The end of the nineteenth century had been marked by the development of Imperialism, the recognition of the supreme importance of the Dominions beyond the Seas as an integral part of the British Empire.[1]

B. Since **1900** the question has been affected by the valuable help given by the Dominions during the South African War (**1899-1902**) and the Great War (**1914-18**); by Chamberlain's Tariff Reform proposals,[2] which aimed at uniting the different parts of the Empire more closely by preferential tariffs; by the development of means of more rapid communication; and by the growing wealth and influence of the Dominions.

C. The importance of the British Empire beyond the Seas has been shown by—

(1) The grant of Federal and Dominion status.

[**1873.** The Federation of Canada completed (except in the case of Newfoundland) by the addition of Prince Edward Island.]

1901. The Federation of Australia, including New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania.

1907. New Zealand was made a Dominion.

1910. The Union of South Africa, following the grant, in **1907**, of self-government to the recently conquered Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. The Union differs from those of Canada and Australia in the fact that it is not a Federation. It does not include Rhodesia.

(2) The part played by the Dominions in Imperial politics.

July, **1915.** Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, attended a Cabinet meeting in London.

[1] *Notes on British History*, IV, page 981. [2] Page 1076.

1918. Sir Robert Borden served on the Inter-Allied Commission on Greece and Armenia ; W. F. Massey, Premier of New Zealand, on the Commission on the Responsibility of the War.

1919. Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand had their own representatives at the Congress of Versailles and are members of the League of Nations.

II. **Dominion Nationality.**

The development of Imperialism has been accompanied by the growth of the feeling of Nationality in some of the leading colonies. In some cases a National Party demands complete separation from the British Empire. The National movement in French Canada tended in this direction ; in India the demand for separation is strongly made by a section of the people ; the Nationalist movement in Egypt was one of the main causes for the establishment of an independent Egyptian Monarchy under King Fuad in **1922.** In Egypt " we went as advisers and we remain as advisers."

A. The rights of managing their own internal affairs and of deciding their own fiscal policy, which follow from Dominion status, have strengthened the feeling of nationality. These rights have sometimes been asserted to the detriment of other parts of the Empire and of Great Britain, e.g. British subjects of Asiatic birth have been excluded from Australia in accordance with the Australian laws regulating Immigration ; in **1921** the Fiscal Committee of India increased the taxes on imported cotton goods from 7½ per cent to 11 per cent, and thus adversely affected the Lancashire cotton trade.

B. The part played by Dominion troops in the South African and Great Wars was a cause of just pride to the Dominions concerned and promoted the growth of the national spirit. Canada took part in the Great War " under the triple principle of self-government, self-development, and self-defence."

C. The defence of the Empire as a whole is an Imperial concern. In **1909** Australia and New Zealand each presented a battleship to the British Navy, the latter offering " two, if necessary " ; i

1912 Canada offered to lend battleships, and New Zealand a cruiser, to the Admiralty. But the Dominions maintain their own forces for local defence; the Australian Fleet is called "The King's Australian Navy." The great majority of the troops engaged in military operations in India are of Indian birth.

D. The independence of the Dominions has been formally asserted at the Colonial Conferences in London and elsewhere.

1907. Hon. A. Deakin (Premier of the Australian Commonwealth **1909–10**) said that the Colonial Conference was a meeting of "governments and governments"; Sir Wilfred Laurier defined the British Empire as "a loose league of free and equal States, united under a common King"; Lloyd George stated that the Dominions were "independent nations within the British Empire."

III. The Bonds of Empire.

In **1907** Sir Wilfred Laurier insisted on Dominion freedom as against Imperial centralisation, and all attempts to make the Dominion Governments the organs of centralised authority have failed.

A. Colonial Conferences.

The Colonial Conferences, which have met at intervals since **1887,** emphasise the unity of the Empire. At the Conference held in **1911** the position of foreign affairs was fully explained and the Dominion delegates for the first time were admitted to full knowledge of Imperial diplomacy and defence. But they exist only for discussion and report; they possess no executive functions, and their usefulness suffers in consequence. Suggestions have been made that the unity of the Empire might be strengthened by adding representatives of the Dominions to the Privy Council or to the House of Lords. More recently the establishment of an Imperial Cabinet has been advocated, and this, it is hoped, may prove "the beginnings of a system of government between the fully responsible representatives of the autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth."

B. The Throne.

All the Dominions acknowledge the authority of the British Crown, which is represented by the Governor. The power of this official bond is strengthened by personal devotion to the King, and loyalty to the Crown has received a strong stimulus from the remarkably successful visits paid recently to the Dominions by the Prince of Wales.

C. Colonial Tariffs.

"The Government has announced that its policy is Imperial preference,"[1] and preferential Colonial tariffs are advocated by some as a bond of union. Others maintain that differences of commercial interests between different parts of the Empire render such a scheme impracticable.

D. Intangible bonds.

To many Britons beyond the seas Great Britain is still "home"; the call of the blood is still strong, and "a vivid sense of spiritual kinship" was one of the causes that led the Dominions to join in the Great War. "The war has given new articles of association to the company of John Bull and Sons, and it is a company with no limit to its liability."[2]

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

While all the dominions are interested in the problem of Imperialism, differences of situation, temperature, commercial development, and previous history have led to differences in recent history.

I. India.

The absence of national unity, resentment against the British rule, the lack of education and political experience among the lower classes makes the task of governing India extremely difficult.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, January, 1921.
[2] Percy Hurd, M.P., *Daily Mail Year Book*, 1922.

A. The absence of National unity.

India is a geographical but not a national unit; "in India there is no common birthright."[1] Two hundred and twenty different vernacular languages are spoken in India; racial distinctions are clearly marked; religious differences between Hindus and Mahommedans lead often to disorder, and are the probable explanation of the Moplah rising of **1921**; the Hindus are divided into castes, and intermarriage and social intercourse are absolutely forbidden between members of different castes; the native states occupy two-fifths of the country. The British Government tries "to govern India in the interests not of one class, but of all";[2] but it is difficult to carry out this policy in a country where such strongly marked divisions exist, for "the ideas of the nation and the State have barely penetrated" the minds of Indians.

B. Opposition to British rule.

The government of British India is disinterested and efficient. It has given to the country peace, justice between man and man, and a growing measure of commercial prosperity; but the difference of outlook between West and East remains and "the twain" have not yet met. Western civilisation rests largely on a material basis, Eastern on a spiritual; "in Europe race has a tendency to mastery, in Asia religion."[3] It is difficult to estimate the effect of this radical difference. Other more direct causes of discontent include—

(1) Objection to foreign rule.

In spite of the advantages conferred by the British there is a distinct feeling in favour of native government; many would prefer misgovernment by native princes and the maintenance of old native methods and customs to good government by the British and the attempt to realise Western ideas. This Indianisation of India is advocated by Ghandi, a patriotic saint who has actively preached a policy of non-cooperation and passive resistance.

[1] Sir Rabindranath Tajore.
[2] Report on the Government of India, 1918.
[3] *Quarterly Review*, July, 1920.

(2) Bengal.

1911. The removal of the capital from Calcutta to "the ancient capital of Delhi" and the division of Bengal has caused much discontent in that province.

(3) Mahommedans.

The terms imposed on Turkey by the Treaty of Sevres caused much resentment among the 70,000,000 Mahommedan inhabitants of India.

(4) Amritzar, April 13th, **1919.**

General Dyer, with a force of fifty infantry and two armoured cars, opened fire on a crowd of 5000 who had assembled in defiance of an order prohibiting the assembly of more than four men. The casualties were reported to be 379 killed and 1000 wounded. Opinion was sharply divided on Dyer's action. Some strongly condemned it as unjustifiable cruelty, and a majority in Parliament endorsed this view. Others, and especially Anglo-Indians, held that his prompt action had averted a serious rising which might have developed into a second Indian Mutiny.

C. The growth of self-government.

The share taken by Indians in the government of the country has greatly increased, partly owing to the great material progress of recent years. Fifty years ago the highest executive appointment held by an Indian was that of Assistant Magistrate;[1] now "the everyday work of government is everywhere in Indian hands."[2] In **1917** the British Government declared that its policy was "the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." An important step in this direction was taken in **1909,** when John Morley[3] being Secretary for India and Lord Minto Viceroy, natives were admitted by the India Councils Act to membership of the Councils of the Viceroy, Secretary of State, and Provincial Governors. A step of the utmost importance was taken by—

[1] *Contemporary Review,* January, 1919.
[2] *North American Review,* 1921.
[3] Now Viscount Morley of Blackburn.

(1) The Government of India Act, **1920**, which followed the report issued in **1918** by the Secretary for India, E. S. Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and came into operation January 1st, **1921**.

(*a*) The Act provided that the government of India should be carried out by the Governor in Council, which consisted of the Viceroy and one British and one Indian member, and dealt with questions of defence, tariffs, and Imperial policy; the Legislative Council, containing a large Indian non-official elected majority, and exercising effective control over education, industry, agriculture, and sanitation; eight Provincial Legislatures in which elected members formed the majority and to which considerable local authority was given. The electors number over 5,000,000 males possessing certain residential and tax-paying qualifications, and the Bombay Council has already extended the electorate to women.

(*b*) Criticism.

(2) "India now stands at the crossways, with feudalism behind her and untried democracy in front of her."[1] The people of India through their elected representatives control most branches of the administration. But "in India government from above is the natural and traditional way of doing things,"[2] and the success of the new policy depends largely upon the education of the electorate. In **1918** only 6 per cent of the population were sufficiently educated to read and write a letter, and there is urgent need for a great development of primary and secondary education on lines suited to the needs of the country.

(3) The "Indianisation" of the Civil and Military Service has led to a great decrease in the number of British born civilians and officers. If, as Sir Rabindranath Tagore declared, his fellow-countrymen "lack constructive ideals," this change may impair efficiency, and there is a danger that under native administration the integrity of the service may not be maintained.

(4) The new system was inaugurated at a difficult time when the stern repression of the Amritzar rising had caused great

[1] *North American Review*, CCXIV, 192.
[2] *Quarterly Review*, July, 1920.

resentment and the heavy burden of military charges arising from the war led to serious financial difficulties.

But Indians have a profound respect for law,[1] and Lord Reading is a great lawyer. The sentiment of kingship is very strong, and the recent visit of the Prince of Wales stimulated the feeling of loyalty to the Throne. The peasants, a most important element in a country where 75 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture, are animated by sincere good will towards Great Britain. These facts must not be forgotten, but time alone can show if this great experiment in self-government will be successful.

II. Canada.

The Premierships of Sir Wilfred Laurier (**1896-1911**) and Sir Robert Borden (**1911 20**) cover the early years of the twentieth century. Among important internal problems were those connected with the French-Canadians, the relations of Canada towards Great Britain and the United States, and the development of agriculture in the west.

A. Sir Wilfred Laurier's Ministry, 1896–1911.

Laurier's was one of the two Liberal Governments that have been returned at eight General Elections; it followed a Conservative Government which had been in office from **1878 96.**

(1) Fiscal Policy.

(*a*) The "Ottawa Programme" issued by the Liberals in **1893** declared against Protection; but the Fielding tariff of **1897** was protective and gave bounties to promote home industries. From **1897 1912** there was no political group which opposed Protection, but Liberals supported and Conservatives opposed preference for Great Britain.

(*b*) During this period differences between Canada and the United States about Alaska and the Atlantic fisheries were amicably adjusted; but President Cleveland's claim to authority

[1] It is said that a Bengal lawyer, who was asked by an English tourist what he would do if the Russians overran India, replied: "Sir! I should at once appeal to the High Court."

in Venezuela and tariff restrictions on the import of Canadian produce aroused resentment; and Laurier's attempt to secure reciprocity between Canada and the States in **1911** proved a failure and led to the downfall of his Ministry.

(2) The development of the West.

The gradual occupation of the fertile prairies of the United States led to a considerable demand for Canadian land, and the development of the West was promoted by

(*a*) Successful Immigration.

From **1896 1911** over 2,000,000 immigrants entered Canada, of whom 38 per cent were British and 34 per cent American; within the same period the number of homesteads in the open country increased from 1800 to 44,000; the storage capacity of the grain elevators at Fort William increased from four to twenty-six million bushels; and in **1911** the Canadian-Pacific Railway established forty-one new towns in the prairie provinces.

(*b*) Improvement of means of communication.

Water transit through the St. Lawrence and the canals was improved; the Grand Trunk Railway was commenced in **1905**, and during Laurier's Ministry nearly 10,000 miles of railway were constructed on the Grand Trunk, Canadian-Pacific, and Canadian Northern Railways.

(3) Among other events may be mentioned—

(*a*) **1905.** The addition to the Federation of the newly formed provinces of Saskatchewan and Athabasca.

(*b*) **1905.** The law that gave a salary of 7000 dollars to the Leader of the Opposition.

(*c*) **1910.** The creation of a Canadian Navy of five cruisers and six torpedo-boat destroyers.

(*d*) A great development in industry, especially iron and steel in Ontario and Nova Scotia, steel shipbuilding in Toronto, and coal-mining.

(4) General.

"The outstanding development of the Laurier regime was the reversal of the industrial depression and the spirit of pessimism

which had prevailed in the middle nineties."[1] He found Canada a colony and left it a nation, and gave it the conception of the British Empire as a League of Nations.

B. Sir Robert Borden's Ministries, 1911 20.

War Policy.

Borden threw himself heartily into the war; carried a Military Service Bill and a War Time Elections Bill preventing naturalised Canadians of enemy country birth from voting at parliamentary elections. The general result was that English-speaking Canada rallied round Borden, who "wrought a moral revolution in Canadian politics that will put an end to all serious divisions in the Dominion."[2]

C. The French-Canadians.

(1) Language.

Differences of language and religion divide French from English Canadians, and these have complicated the problem of education. The French-Canadians demanded that their children should be taught in French in the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Athabasca; but in February, 1918, a meeting at Saskatoon demanded that no language but English should be used, and Ontario, in spite of the immigration of many French-Canadians, has made similar provision.

(2) Religion.

The Roman Catholic clergy of Quebec have encouraged their young people to remain at home and not to migrate into the towns, and "clerical solicitude has hindered the Dominionising of Quebec."[3] Immigration alone has enabled English Canadians to maintain their superiority in Quebec.

(3) Nationalism.

A French Nationalist party has been formed under the leadership of Henri Bourassa, a journalist of Montreal. This party opposed the establishment of the Canadian Navy in 1910 and

[1] *Century Magazine*, September, 1919.
[2] *Quarterly Review*, 1918 [3] *Ibid.*, 1918.

objected to Canadian intervention in the Great War.[1] Quebec sent comparatively few recruits.

D. The farmers.

"The organised farmers' movement is the dominant feature of Canadian political life."[2] It owed much to the Saskatchewan Company, which promoted co-operation and social intercourse among farmers and influenced local elections, and to the Canadian Council of Agriculture, founded **1909,** whose aims were political. It strongly supported the war and in **1916** formed the "Farmers' Platform," which favoured women's suffrage, prohibition, and taxation of incomes. In November, **1918,** the farmers adopted the New National Policy in favour of the League of Nations, increased preference on British trade, reciprocity towards the United States, the public ownership of railways, water supplies, aerial transportation, telephones and telegraphs. A New National Party was formed to carry out the programme; it made an alliance with Labour, and proved so successful in provincial and federal elections that now "no rural seat in Canada outside of Quebec is safe from the assaults of the embattled farmers."

The farmers are Liberal; they helped to put Laurier in power in **1896,** and in **1917** opposed Borden's Coalition Government because they regarded it as unduly susceptible to the "big interests" of finance, and strongly resented the growing influence of United States finance in Canadian industry. The New National Party is regarded as a "class organisation" by their opponents and is hampered by lack of parliamentary experience. But it claims to represent a new democracy, and it may prove of great value as an alternative to the "undiluted, capitalist individualism" which is so powerful in the United States. The future of this party is one of the most interesting of Canada's political problems.

III. **South Africa.**

The loyalty of General Botha, who urged his countrymen to "let the blood of the brave who found their graves in South

[1] *Edinburgh Review,* July, 1918.
[2] *Edinburgh Review,* July, 1920.

Africa be the cement that will bind us together," and of his successor in the Premiership, General Smuts, the loyalty shown by the greater part of the Colony during the war and the success with which the Dutch rising was crushed, the freedom of administration granted to the Union Government, and the lack of interference by the British Government in South African affairs, tended to attach the Dominion more closely to the Empire. But South Africa has its own problems.

A. The Dutch.

The Dutch party, in which Herzog has played a leading part, still includes many who desire independence of Great Britain, and the addition of 10,000 adult males from German South Africa may strengthen the disaffected Dutch.

B. Natives.

The native inhabitants number five millions. Their opportunities are limited by the restrictions of the Trade Unions, which are generally hostile to them; their wages are inadequate, although their labour seems essential for the mines; they are forbidden by law to take positions of influence, and are precluded from exercising the franchise. There is therefore a strong anti-British feeling among the natives, and their large numbers make the position one of difficulty and even danger.

C. Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia, which is outside the Union, there is a difference between the inhabitants and the Chartered Company. The latter has done much to develop Rhodesia, but the former are unwilling to pay £8,000,000, for which the Company offers to sell its rights.

Some think a solution of all these problems will be found by the formation of a United States of South Africa, founded on a wide franchise to which natives are admitted and "extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and from the Cape of Good Hope to the Victoria Falls."[1]

IV. Australia.

Among the special problems of Australia are those connected with Labour, Immigration, and the development of the country.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, June, 1919.

A. Labour.

(1) Political power.

Labour M.P.'s were first elected in **1890**, in which year New South Wales sanctioned the payment of members. Australia has had four Federal Ministries, the first in **1904**, and every State except Victoria has had a Labour Ministry. Labour was seriously weakened as a political force by the question of Conscription, which split the party, led to the expulsion of its leading supporter, W. M. Hughes, the Premier of Australia, from the Labour Party, and by the defeat of Labour in the Federal and State elections (except Queensland) in May, **1917.**

It is claimed that the Australian Labour movement "has rightly interpreted and voiced the spirit of progressive nationalism of the Australian people";[1] but the attempt to nationalise industries and public services has not proved a financial success and has been accompanied by "casualness and consequent inefficiency"[1] of administration. The Labour Party has strongly supported education, which has reached a high level, and has given to the working class an unusually high standard of living. Labour has maintained the right of Australia to self-government and demanded that Bills passed by the Federal Parliament should receive Royal Assent on the advice of Australian Ministers, and that the Australian High Court should be a final court of appeal. Labour favours Protection and the restriction of immigration in the interests of a "White Australia."

(2) Trade Unions.

In **1914** over 10 per cent of the population belonged to Trade Unions, and in **1918** there were about 600,000 Trade Unionists in Australia. Originally there were three distinct interests—the towns, the mines, and the back blocks; but in **1893** all were united in the Australian Workers' Union.

In recent years the power of the Unions has been weakened by differences between moderate and extreme parties. The influence of the International World Workers; some dissatisfaction with what was regarded as failure to give full effect in Parliament to

[1] Meredith Atkinson.

Labour ideals; disappointment with the results of Industrial Arbitration and the lack of harmony between the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and the State Industrial Courts; the rise in the cost of living and the pressure of war taxation have all contributed to general unrest and promoted a tendency towards Syndicalism. In **1916** and **1917** many strikes took place, in spite of the work of Arbitration Courts. The maritime strike in **1919** was an attempt to weaken the power of the Arbitration Courts by a strike; its failure must be regarded as a victory of the principle of parliamentary government over direct action. In the same year an attempt to unite all Trade Unionists into one "Big Union" broke down owing to the pressure of sectional interests.

B. The development of the country.

The greater part of the continent, and particularly the centre and the north, remains undeveloped, partly owing to the lack of water in the centre and the tropical climate of the north, which is too hot for white labour and in which there is only one European for every two hundred square miles. There is urgent need for reafforestation in some parts, and the development of transport to secure valuable timber in others.

Rural depopulation is a serious problem, but immigration is limited by the demand for a White Australia, and strong feeling was caused by the introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa in **1904.**[1] The opposition to the introduction of coloured labour is partly social, partly economic, and partly political. But many who accept the theory of a White Australia consider that coloured labour is essential for the development of the tropical districts of Northern Queensland, in which considerable use has already been made of Kanakas.

It is certain that the extension of irrigation will facilitate the development of the continent, and much has been done already. In **1908** a scheme of irrigation for the Murrumbidgee area was started which will lead to the cultivation of 1000 square miles carrying a population of 100,000 people; by **1911,** 6000 people

[1] Page 1078.

were living on 12,000 acres reclaimed by irrigation at Mildura (Victoria).

C. Australia and the Pacific.

In view of some possible rivalry between Australia and Japan in the Pacific great importance attaches to the occupation in 1905 of Papua (New Guinea) by Great Britain, owing to pressure from Australia, and the administration of the country by the Federation of Australia. The Solomon Islands, Fiji, and Tonga are British possessions. It therefore follows that places which might form a starting-point for an attack on Queensland and others which command the trade routes to the East and to the Panama Canal are under British control, and the position of Australia is greatly strengthened in consequence.

V. **The West Indies.**

The West Indies afford a remarkable exception to the political and social development which forms the most important feature in the recent history of the Dominions. Partly owing to the conspicuous lack of political capacity of the native inhabitants, to the small number of the white population, and the decline in wealth, due largely to the decay of the sugar plantations, the West Indies have not only failed to advance, but probably enjoy a smaller measure of self-government than in the nineteenth century.

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EDUCATION, 1900–1920

1. **The Board of Education, 1899.**

The Board of Education, established in 1899, consisted of a President, the Secretaries of State, the First Commissioner of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It absorbed the old Education Department and the Science and Art Department

and took over certain duties hitherto discharged by the Charity Commission and Board of Agriculture. It was empowered to inspect any school supplying Secondary Education, and, through a Consultative Advisory Committee, to frame a Teachers' Register.

Thus a new Central Body was established competent to deal with elementary, technical, and secondary education.

II. The Education Act, 1902.

A. A new Local Education Authority.

(1) The Act made the County or County Borough Council, acting through its Education Committee, responsible for elementary, secondary, and technical education in its area.

In **1900** only 33 counties and 25 county boroughs in England and 13 counties and 3 county boroughs in Wales possessed an organisation for the promotion of secondary education.

(2) The extinction of the School Boards, elected *ad hoc* by cumulative vote to make provision for elementary education, led to some opposition; but the wider powers given to local Councils enabled them to combine into one system the three types of education, to ensure a connection between elementary and secondary schools and between day schools and technical classes, to provide an educational ladder for promising boys and girls, and to remedy the deficiency in secondary education by the provision of municipal secondary schools.

B. The problem of the Voluntary Elementary School.

Voluntary schools hitherto had been supported by subscriptions and not by rates. Subscriptions had fallen off, expenses had greatly increased owing to additional requirements for accommodation, equipment, and sanitation; the voluntary schools were therefore in grave financial difficulties.

(1) The Act provided that voluntary schools should come under the general control of the local Council, but that they should continue to give denominational instruction and that, while receiving aid from the rates, they should retain some measure

of private management, particularly in regard to the appointment of teachers.

(2) Strong opposition was aroused by the proposal to use rates to support schools in which denominational instruction was given and over which popular control was not complete ; this opposition was not appeased by the Kenyon-Slaney amendment, which strengthened outside control in the management of voluntary schools, and the proposal was passed only by severe closure. Passive Resisters refused to pay rates for this purpose. The Education Bills of **1906**[1] and **1908**[2] failed to settle the controversy between the supporters of denominational and of undenominational teaching.

(3) **1903.** The London Education Act extended the Education Act to London.

III. The Education Act, 1918.

Raised the leaving age to fourteen or, at the discretion of local authorities, to fifteen ; provided for the establishment of compulsory day continuation schools for young persons up to eighteen ; prohibited the employment of children under twelve ; arranged for the medical inspection of secondary schools ; empowered local authorities to establish nursery schools for children between the ages of two and five, and special schools for defectives ; abolished all fees in elementary schools.

Partly owing to financial stringency, Day Continuation Schools were established only in London and two or three other towns ; strong differences of opinion arose as to the advisability of establishing nursery schools owing to the cost and the urgent need of providing accommodation for older children, but teachers generally strongly favoured the establishment of these schools, and the Bill is generally regarded as marking a distinct advance in education.

IV. Some Developments since 1900.

The twentieth century has been marked by a remarkable extension of education.

[1] Page 1083. [2] Page 1086.

A. Elementary education.

(1) Numbers.

On August 31st, **1900,** there were in England[1] 14,359 Voluntary and 5758 Board Schools, with an attendance of 3,043,006 scholars in the former and 2,662,667 in the latter.

In **1919** there were 11,662 Voluntary and 7374 Council Schools with accommodation[2] for 2,632,567 and 3,879,535 scholars respectively.

(2) New departures.

The scope of elementary schools has been widened on the social side by—

(*a*) School medical service, **1907.**

By the Ministry of Health Act, **1919,** the ultimate control of the service was vested in the Ministry of Health, while the Local Education Authorities remained charged with the duty of carrying out the work.

The service now includes dental as well as medical inspection and the provision of school clinics. From **1917–19** 49 per cent of the children were found to be defective ; largely owing to this service there has of late been an improvement in vision and teeth (especially in freedom from caries).

(*b*) Other special services.

These include—

(1) The provision of meals for poor children ; five and a half million were provided in **1918–19,** the great majority without cost to parents.
(2) Schools for blind, deaf, and defective children.
(3) Nursery schools.
(4) Evening play centres.

B. Secondary Education.

Mainly owing to the development of Municipal Secondary Schools under the Act of **1902,** and to the necessity felt by many

[1] Excluding Monmouthshire, which was included in Wales.
[2] Calculated at ten square feet of floor for elder, and nine for younger, children.

Grammar Schools to supplement their income by Government grants, secondary schools under the authority of the Board have increased in number. In **1918–19,** 961 schools with 245,993 pupils were recognised by the Board for Grant in England, and 118 (as compared with 90 in **1900**) with 23,697 pupils in Wales.

Many of these pupils received their earlier education in elementary schools, and the connection between the two types of schools is ensured by the requirement of the Board that aided secondary schools shall in each year award free places to the number of one quarter of the total entrants for the preceding year. The institution of post-matriculation " Advanced Courses " has tended to raise the standard of work. The organisation of Cadet Units and Officers' Training Corps, the institution of Houses, the organisation of games, and the formation of school clubs have helped to develop in the newer type of secondary schools something of the " Public School spirit " which characterises older foundations.

Secondary schools, before **1900** isolated, have now become an integral part of the national system. But, in spite of their establishment, in spite of the extension of Public Schools and largely owing to the remarkable increase of pupils in grant-aided schools from 180,507 in **1914** to 245,998 in **1918,** the provision of secondary education is still inadequate.

[An important recent departure has been the establishment of Junior Technical Schools, providing two or three-year courses for boys intended for industrial pursuits. Of these there were sixty-nine in existence in **1918–19.**]

C. Universities.

(1) New foundations.

Since **1900** Durham University has greatly extended its activities by incorporating Armstrong College and the Durham College of Medicine in Newcastle (**1908**); new Universities have been founded at Bristol, Birmingham (**1900**), Liverpool (**1903**), Manchester (**1904**), Leeds (**1904**), Sheffield (**1905**), and the number of full time students attending the last five has increased from 4085 in **1913–14** to 9132 in **1921–22.** The number of students in the University of Wales has doubled in the same time.

(2) Close connection with Industry.

While making full provision for Classics, Languages, Mathematics, and Science, the new Universities have devoted great attention to the needs of Industry, and excellent work has been done in the faculties of Commerce, Engineering, Metallurgy, Textiles, Mining, and Agriculture. Among special departments may be mentioned those of Civic Design[1] and Tropical Medicine at Liverpool; Fuel Technology and Glass Technology at Sheffield; Printing and Photographic Technology at Manchester; Dyeing and Colour Chemistry and Coal Gas and Fuel Industries at Leeds; Petroleum Mining at Birmingham. The development of the Engineering Tripos at Cambridge and the establishment of a department of Forestry at Oxford show that the old Universities have made some steps in the same direction.

(3) The growing number of women students at all Universities, and the presence at Oxford since **1903** of the Rhodes Scholars from the United States and British Dominions are two interesting features of University life.

D. The position of Teachers.

The position of teachers has been greatly improved by the formation of a Teachers' Register, which is likely to promote the solidarity of the profession; by the grant of a liberal scale of pensions by the Superannuation Act of **1918**; by a substantial increase in salaries, previously inadequate, in accordance with the recommendations of the Burnham Committee of **1919.**

V. General.

The renaissance of education which has marked the last twenty years may be due to a growing appreciation of the need of education as a necessary qualification for the exercise of additional powers of self-government, or as a means of social improvement; or to the effect of the war, which emphasised the supreme importance of Science; or to the need of improving industrial and commercial methods. Although financial difficulties have sometimes led to opposition to educational develop-

[1] To meet the requirements of the Town Planning Act of 1919.

ment, there is no doubt that the efforts of the Board of Education and Local Education Authorities have led to remarkable progress since **1900.**

References :

Board of Education Reports, especially **1900** and **1919.**

Contemporary Review, February, **1922.**

Higher Education of Boys in England, by Norwood and Hope. (John Murray.)

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

I. The Parliamentary Vote.

As early as **1867** John Stuart Mill advocated Women's Suffrage in Parliament, and the question had been repeatedly raised in the House of Commons since **1870.** The movement received a great impetus from the foundation, in **1906,** of the Women's Social and Political Union. The supporters of the movement were called Suffragettes, and adopted constitutional and unconstitutional methods to secure their object.

A. Constitutional methods.

(1) Every effort was made to secure Parliamentary support, and a considerable number, some said 420, of M.P.'s elected at the beginning of **1906** promised their support.

(2) **1912.** Defeat of a private Bill to confer the Parliamentary franchise on women by 222 votes to 208. As the House of Commons had four times since **1907** approved of the principle of the enfranchisement of women, this vote was rather surprising. It is explained partly by resentment at the violent methods adopted by the Suffragettes, partly because some Liberals regarded the Bill as too narrow, and partly because some supporters of the Home Rule Bill feared that time spent in carrying the Franchise Bill would defer the acquisition of Home Rule. The cause was weakened by the fact that no party except the Labour

Party adopted Women's Suffrage as part of their programme. Opinion in both Liberal and Conservative parties was divided on the question.

B. Unconstitutional methods.

As Parliament seemed unwilling to meet their wishes, the Suffragettes adopted unconstitutional methods. They created disturbances at public meetings; 141 were arrested in **1907** for violence in or near Parliament, and on refusing to pay fines were committed to prison; in January, **1908,** they raided Downing Street and broke the windows of Ministers who opposed their demands. The strong criticism of their methods which appeared in the public Press gave excellent advertisement to the Suffragettes, who adopted a conspicuous scarf as an outward sign of their opinions. Their numbers grew rapidly, and the Women's Freedom League, an offshoot of the Social and Political Union, founded **1908,** spared no efforts to promote the cause. On October 13th, **1908,** they stormed the House of Commons and disturbed a debate with shouts of "Votes for Women!"

Militant methods were suspended when the Prime Minister gave, in November, **1910,** a promise to "proceed effectively" with a Bill to enfranchise women; but in December, **1911,** he declared that "the grant of parliamentary suffrage to women would be a political mistake of a very disastrous kind." The Suffragettes declared that "our chief opponent was Mr. Asquith," and in **1912 14** again resorted to violent methods. They smashed the Jewel Case in the Tower; let off explosives in empty churches, and nearly destroyed the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey with a bomb; cut pictures in the National Gallery, and set the contents of post boxes on fire. In May, **1913,** a Suffragette threw herself in front of the King's horse as it was running in the Derby and was killed. Imprisonment led to hunger striking, and in **1913** the Government therefore passed the "Cat and Mouse" Bill, which provided that prisoners whose health had been seriously impaired by refusal to eat should be released until the restoration of their health, when they would be again imprisoned to complete their sentence.

C. Women's work in the War.

On the outbreak of the war Mrs. Fawcett, one of the leaders of the Women's Suffrage movement, said, "Let us show ourselves worthy of citizenship whether our claim to it be recognised or not," and the excellent work done by women during the war largely accounts for the grant of the suffrage in **1918.** "It is not too much to say that our armies have been saved and victory assured by the women in the munition factories."[1] The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies opened forty workshops for women and supplied many women for public service; collected £428,000 for the Scottish Women's Hospitals for foreign service in Serbia (where Dr. Elsie Inglis did splendid service and died) and France; and in November, **1918,** was maintaining 1885 beds for wounded and sick soldiers. Women became cooks in soldiers' camps, and in a convalescent camp in the south of England the employment of women cooks in place of men caused a saving in one month of £900; many did valuable work on the land.

The Times asserted that the Act of **1918** was based "not on the triumph of agitation, but on the injustice of withholding such protection as the vote affords from a sex which has for the first time taken its full share in the national effort."

D. The Parliamentary Reform Act, February, **1918.**

The excellent work done by women during the war made the grant of the franchise inevitable. The Reform Act of **1918**

(1) Lowered the age qualification for men to twenty-one,[2] and required residence of only six months.

(2) Gave the Parliamentary franchise to women of not less than thirty years of age who were Local Government electors or the wives of such electors, or who possessed University degrees or their equivalents.

(3) The Act gave facilities for voting to soldiers and sailors on active service; forbade any elector from voting in more than two constituencies; required all polls to be taken on one day;

[1] E. S. Montagu, Minister of Munitions.
[2] Youths of nineteen who had served in the Great War were enfranchised.

candidates failing to poll one-eighth of the votes to forfeit their deposit of £150; conscientious objectors to be disqualified from voting for five years; no one to be disqualified owing to receipt of poor relief.

The Act increased the number of electors from 8,357,000 to 16,000,000, of whom 6,000,000 were women.

E. November, **1918.** An Act was passed allowing women to stand for Parliament, but the House of Lords in **1922** decided against the claim of Lady Rhondda to sit in the Lords as a peeress in her own right. The first woman M.P., Lady Astor, was elected for Plymouth, November, **1919.**

II. Local Government.

Properly qualified women had long enjoyed the right of voting in local elections and had done excellent work on School Boards and Boards of Guardians.

1907. An Act was passed allowing women to become members of Borough and County Councils.

1908. The first Lady Mayors appointed were Mrs. Garrett Anderson for Aldeburgh and Miss Dove for High Wycombe.

Many ladies have recently been appointed J.P.'s and received awards of the British Empire for war services.

III. University Degrees.

1920. Women admitted to degrees at Oxford.

References :

The Women's Victory and After, by Millicent G. Fawcett. (Sidgwick and Jackson.)

Nineteenth Century and After, February, **1914.**

Quarterly Review, July, **1919.**

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

In Science the twentieth century has continued the work of the nineteenth—"the Wonderful Century"[1]—with conspicuous success, and the application of recent developments has profoundly affected manufactures, means of communication, and domestic life. As such developments are still in progress no final account is possible, but the consideration of scientific tendencies is of interest.

I. **Physics.**

A. Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

Professor Einstein, of Würtemburg, first put forward his theory in **1915.**

(1) Newton's Theories.

Newton accepted the ideas of absolute space and even-flowing time; but these ideas are contradicted by his own laws of motion, according to which absolute uniform motion and absolute space are impossible.

(2) Astronomy.

The development of astronomy has tended to overthrow the theory of absolute rest or motion by the discovery that neither the earth, nor the sun, nor the stellar system is fixed. The human mind is thus deprived of its anchorage in space.

(3) Relativity.

Einstein holds that neither space nor time is absolute, but varies in relation to the observer. But he regards the velocity of light *in vacuo* as constant for every observer in every system of reference.[2]

B. Radio Activity.

M. and Mme. Curie discovered radium in **1898.** A radio-active

[1] *Notes on British History*, Vol. IV, page 1024.

[2] For a full consideration of this highly complicated question, see *Relativity and the Universe*, H. Schmidt (Methuen).

body gives forth rays which affect a photographic plate, or produce fluorescence on prepared screens or ionise surrounding gas. The rays are produced by a process of disintegration, e.g. the disintegration of one gramme of radium results in an output of energy equal to that obtained by burning 500,000 grammes of coal—but the process takes 3000 years.

The theory of radio activity has had important effects on Science, Physics, Chemistry, Geology (by falsifying all former calculations as to the age of the earth).

C. Wireless telegraphy.

Wireless telegraphy, with which the names of Hertz, Lodge, Fleming, and, above all, Marconi are connected, depends upon the action of two distinct electric currents, one transmitting and the other receiving a series of electric or electro-magnetic waves which make with a switch long and short connections in accordance with the Morse code. Wireless telegraphy has greatly facilitated communications, especially between ships and land; was greatly developed during the war, and is sure to be further improved in the near future.

1901. Marconi's station at Poldhu (Cornwall) sent messages to Newfoundland.

1909. The crew of the damaged liner *Republic* saved in response to wireless messages.

1923. Wireless telephony across the Atlantic.

D. The electric furnace.

The introduction of the electric furnace has simplified the production of chemical elements (e.g. aluminium, sodium, and phosphorus) and compounds (e.g. calcium carbide and carborundum).

II. **Chemistry.**

A. Liquid gas.

The work of Sir James Dewar in liquefying gases led to the production of oxygen and nitrogen more cheaply on a large scale by fractional distillation, and thus facilitated the synthetic production of ammonia.

B. Atomic structure.

The discovery of X-rays and radio-activity led to the investigation of atomic structure by Sir W. Crookes and Sir J. J. Thomson.

The theory of electrons asserts that each atom consists of a positive nucleus surrounded by negative electrons. The whole of the electron is probably electrical, and the theory that all mass is electrical finds strong support. The examination of X-ray spectra of elements by Moseley (**1914**) made possible the determination of atomic numbers. The theory of electrons has solved some difficult problems in Physics, e.g. the refraction and dispersion of light.

C. Some practical applications of Chemistry.

Chemistry has assisted manufacture by facilitating the extraction of valuable by-products of blast furnaces, by improving the construction of steel, by developing the use of the microscope as a means of determining the structure of metals, and by utilising the waste gas of furnaces for town lighting.

III. **Genetics.**

The science of genetics has been revolutionised by the work of Gregor Mendel (**1822–84**), who in **1865** published papers giving the results of his experiments in the hybridisation[1] of sweet peas. His work attracted little notice during his life, but was rediscovered independently in **1899** by De Vries, Tschermak, and Correns.

Much experimental work has been done on grain, plants, moths, doves, and rabbits, and the study of Genetics has become scientific instead of empirical. It has led to new theories as to sex determination, heredity, and acquired character, and has carried on Darwin's work by expanding the mutation theory of the origin of species. Among its practical results are the development of a disease-resisting strain of wheat and the discovery or expansion of methods of combating insect, fungoid, and other pests harmful to man.[2]

[1] i.e. the transformation of one species into another by artificial fertilisation.

[2] For a full account of the subject, see *Mendel's Principles of Heredity*, Bateson (Cambridge University Press).

IV. Engineering.

The work of the engineer has been facilitated by the manufacture of special steels (which, owing to the presence of new ingredients such as chromium, nickel and tungsten, give greater strength and toughness); by the extended use of reinforced concrete; by the use of oil as fuel.

A. Engines.

(1) Thermal efficiency.

The problem of securing adequate thermal efficiency has not been satisfactorily solved, although some success has been attained by greater boiler pressure and improvements in condensers. But the reciprocating engine, owing to the intermittent motion of its pistons and the resulting dead centre, is very wasteful; the mechanical energy of the best steam-engines is only about one-fifth of the heat value of the fuel consumed, that of the best gas and oil engines only about one-third. Circular motion has therefore been substituted for intermittent, particularly in the steam turbine, "a rotary engine caused to revolve by pressure of steam on steel blades fixed on the outside of a drum revolving in a cylinder"; in centrifugal pumps and rotary blowers.

(2) Internal combustion engines.

The development of internal combustion engines has made the aeroplane, the motor-car, and the submarine possible.

(3) Railway engines.

In railway work the tendency has been towards larger and heavier engines and rolling stock; this has led to greater train loads, but future developments in this direction will depend on the strength of existing bridges.

B. The application of electricity to engineering.

The transmission of electric power by cable from a central generating station to works spread over an extended area; the tendency to use electric motor power rather than, e.g. hydraulic; the use of the electric drive for machines; the introduction of

electric (and oxy-acetylene) welding have facilitated and cheapened production, particularly in iron and steel works.

V. **Shipbuilding.**

The present century has seen the final passing of the wooden sailing ship and the substitution of mild steel for iron as material for shipbuilding; a great increase in the size of cargo vessels, partly owing to improvements in the scantlings of ships, and of passenger boats. The Isherwood method of longitudinal instead of lateral framing is largely used, especially for oil tankers. The replacement of hand riveting by pneumatic machines has facilitated construction.

The Diesel engine, using oil instead of coal, is being increasingly used in ships, and the elaboration of the planimeter into the integrator has enabled calculations to be made with absolute accuracy and remarkable speed. The application of practical geometry has enabled hulls to be completed on land and building berths to be more usefully employed. Turbines have revolutionised propulsion. In **1914** rather less than a quarter of a million tons of shipping was propelled by internal combustion engines; this number rose to one and a half millions in **1922.** During the same time vessels using oil for fuel had increased from one and a third to fourteen and a half millions tons. There are many reasons for the preference of oil over coal. A vessel fitted with Diesel oil engines can remain at sea for fifty-seven days without refuelling; if driven by coal, only for fifteen. The use of oil leads to a reduction of 70 per cent in the number of stokers; refuelling is facilitated, e.g. to coal the *Olympic* takes 500 men five days, to replenish her oil supply takes twelve men twelve hours.[1]

VI. **History.**

The study of Classical History has been revolutionised by the discovery in Crete of rich remains of the Bronze Age dating from 2800 B.C. to 1200 B.C. This period is called Minoan, from King Minos, whose palace was discovered at Knossos by [Sir] Arthur

[1] *Daily Mail*, May 22nd, 1922, reviewing *La Lutte Mondiale pour le Pétrole.*

Evans in **1900.** At the end of the Bronze Age the supremacy passed from Crete to the mainland towns of Mycenae and Tiryns, and the Minoan period was succeeded by the Homeric Age.

Researches in Crete have shown that "the Golden Age of Crete was the forerunner of the Golden Age of Greece . . ., that the connection between Minoan and Hellenic civilisation is vital, not one of locality . . . but of relationship; that Egypt may have been foster-mother to classical Greece, but the mother, never forgotten by her child, was Crete."[1]

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Since **1900** communication between different places has been greatly extended by the improvement or development of aircraft, motors, wireless telegraphy, railways, and ships.

I. Aviation.

A. Lighter than air.

(1) Balloons made lighter than air by inflation with hydrogen or common air rarefied by heat were constructed in Paris about **1782** by the brothers Montgolfier and Charles; in **1884** fish-shaped balloons propelled by an electrically driven screw made successful ascents in Paris. The modern airship was first constructed in **1898** by Santos Dumont, who used the newly invented internal combustion engine to supply the motive power; in **1901** he flew round the Eiffel Tower in a dirigible balloon. By **1907** navigable balloons were constructed in Germany (Zeppelins), France and England, but their size was dangerous, and several (e.g. the English *Nulli Secundus* in **1907**) were wrecked by bad weather.

(2) **1918–21.** Owing to the development of aviation during the Great War, and particularly owing to the increased power of aero-engines (up to 300–500 horse-power), regular services of airships or aeroplanes for mails and passengers have been established between London and Paris, Prague, Brussels, Amsterdam, and

[1] *Crete, Forerunner of Greece*, Hawes (Harper & Co.), page 2.

Warsaw. It is calculated that in three years 5000 aeroplane trips have been made across the Channel, and at least 14,000 passengers have been carried, with a percentage of fatalities no higher than in other modes of travelling. The French Government is now (1922) considering plans for an air route across the Sahara Desert.

(3) August, **1920.** The British airship R.34 made a flight across the Atlantic and back.

B. Heavier than air.

(1) The beginning of aeroplanes.

As early as **1809** Sir George Cayley got out a specification for an aeroplane, but lack of effective motive power made flight impossible. In **1893** Sir Hiram Maxim made an aeroplane weighing three tons and driven by a steam engine of 360 horse-power, but it proved unwieldy and was smashed. Colonel Cody[1] unsuccessfully attempted to secure the necessary motive power by huge box kites. The problem of motive power was solved by the internal combustion engine, which proved powerful enough to drive and not too heavy for the aeroplane to carry.

December 17th, **1903.** The Wright brothers flew 852 feet on a biplane glider driven by a petrol motor.

January, **1908.** Farman, on a biplane, flew in a circle of one mile in Paris.

September, **1908.** Wilbur Wright flew thirty miles in forty minutes at Dayton, Ohio. The word "aeroplane" came into use.

(2) Rapid development.

1910, April. The *Daily Mail* prize of £10,000 for a flight from London to Manchester, won by Paulhan.

July. Bleriot flew the Channel. "With the first crossing of the Channel the modern history of aviation may be said to have begun."

Aerodromes opened at Brooklands and Hendon.

1911. The *Daily Mail* prize of £10,000 for the circuit of Britain (1000 miles).

Cross-country races held from Paris to Rome and Madrid.

[1] Col. S. F. Cody, not "Buffalo Bill."

1912. Vedrines flew at the rate of 100 miles per hour, and Garros rose to a height of 19,000 feet.

1913. Non-stop flight of 646 miles from Paris to Bordeaux and back.

1914. By **1914** a speed of 85–90 miles per hour was considered good, with the possibility of climbing to a height of 10,000 feet,[1] and the following records had been established : –

(*a*) By Germany : 1350 miles in one day ; a height of 21,450 feet ; duration in air, 24 hours 10 minutes.

(*b*) By France : a rate of two miles per minute.

1919, June. The *Daily Mail* prize of £10,000 for the first aeroplane flight across the Atlantic won by [Sir] John Alcock and [Sir] Whitten Brown, who crossed in sixteen hours.

(3) The waterplane.

1912. The invention of hydro-aeroplanes, or waterplanes, which carry floats instead of wheels and skim along the water before rising into the air.

II. **Motor Traffic.**

The development of motor traffic was seriously hampered by Board of Trade regulations, forbidding automobiles to run at a higher speed than five miles per hour and requiring them to be preceded by a man carrying a red flag. These regulations had been abolished by **1900.** But as the safety of the public was endangered by motor traffic, the Motor Bill of **1903** limited the speed of cars and required each to carry a distinguishing number. Like aviation, motor traffic owes much to the internal combustion engine. It has been assisted by the development of the distillation of by-products in gas and iron works, which greatly increased the amount of benzol available for fuel, and by the invention of storage batteries which made possible the use of electricity as a motive power.

A. Motor-cars.

(1) The Royal Automobile Club.

Founded **1897** with 163 members. In **1921** had 19,000 members.

[1] Bairstow, *Aeronautical Journal*, July, 1919.

(2) Improvements in motor-cars.

Since **1900** motor-cars have developed owing to the use of greater piston displacement, giving greater control ; the increase of cylinders ; better control of volatility of fuel ; the use of the high-tension magneto for ignition ; the development of electric starting ; the substitution of shaft and bevel gear drives for the chain drive.

(3) On January 1st, **1921,** there were 212,000 private cars in use.

(4) July, **1922.** At Brooklands a motor-car was driven 1782 miles 1066 yards in twenty-four hours, at an average speed of 77·08 miles per hour.

B. Motor-cycles.

(1) **1899.** Motor-cycles introduced ; the addition of sidecars added to their popularity.

(2) November, **1922.** A motor-cyclist established the following British records at Brooklands : one mile at the rate of 116·7 miles per hour ; ten miles covered in 5 minutes 13·76 seconds.

(3) On January 21st, **1921,** there were 370,000 motor-cycles in use.

C. Motor-cabs.

1909. The introduction of motor-cabs with taximeters provided a clean, swift, and cheap means of transit.

D. Motor coaches and transport.

1912. The London General Omnibus Company established.

1919–22. Great increase in number and improvement in appointments of charabancs. Organisation of regular motor coach services.

The total number of motor operating and motor manufacturing concerns in **1921–22** was 2878,[1] and 11,586 public motor vehicles were in service, of which 649 were owned by municipalities. The London General Omnibus Company alone ran 85,843,000 bus miles, and carried nearly 770 million passengers at a cost of 18·6 pence per mile.

[1] *Motor Transport Year Book,* 1921–22, page 15.

E. Some problems.

The development of motor traffic has led to serious competition with railways and caused congestion on roads. It is one of the causes of the construction of new roads (e.g. the Great Western Road out of London) and the widening of old ones. The introduction of tar macadam and the use of reinforced concrete for roadmaking has led to improvement of the surface.

Motor traffic has greatly increased the danger of the streets. From July 1st to September 31st, **1922,** out of 198 persons killed and 15,221 injured in the Metropolitan Police area, 133 were killed and 7509 injured by motor traffic.

III. **Railways.**

A. The increase in the size of locomotives has led to increase in speed and weight of load. In **1914** trains ran from London to Edinburgh (400 miles) in 8 hours 40 minutes; to Cardiff (145 miles) in 2 hours 53 minutes. During the war the rate of travel was slower, but now the rate has nearly reached that of pre-war times.

B. The application of electricity to railways, interrupted by the war, will receive further attention when the capital expenditure involved can be faced.

C. The Railway Act of **1921** aims at reducing costs of working by arranging all British railways into four groups.

D. **1900.** The Twopenny Tube.

The Tube has relieved the congestion of traffic in London, has promoted the development of the suburbs, and given to the workers of London better chances of housing, fresh air, and recreation.

IV. **Shipping.**

The progress of Engineering and Shipbuilding[1] has greatly facilitated communication by sea, the safety of which has been increased by the use of wireless telegraphy.

[1] Page 1334.

Liners have increased in size, the largest British built boat being the *Oceanic*, of 46,439 tons, although the *Majestic* (formerly the German liner *Bismarck*), of 56,551 tons, is the biggest ship afloat. The size of these liners makes them steady, and their appointments, often including a swimming bath, are luxurious. Economical conditions suggest that the maximum size has been reached. The record for speed is held by the *Mauretania*, which has steamed at the rate of 27·5 knots for a period of one of her voyages.

1907. The *Lusitania* sailed from Liverpool to New York in 4 days 18 hours.

April 14th, **1912.** Loss of the *Titanic*, owing to a collision with an iceberg; 1635 lives lost out of a total ship's company of 2340.

V. Tramcars.

The tramcar service has been greatly extended owing to the exercise by municipalities of their rights to construct and operate. One hundred and two tramways in Great Britain are now operated by municipalities,[1] and in **1921,** 4864 million passengers were carried by tramcars at a cost varying from 14·67 to 24·0 pence per mile.

1906. Trams began to run along the Thames Embankment.

VI. Wireless Telegraphy.[2]

[1] *Proceedings of the Municipal Tramways Association*, 1921–22, p. 12.
[2] Page 1331.

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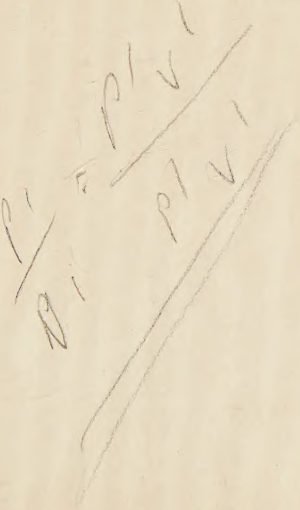
Zandevorde, 1141
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